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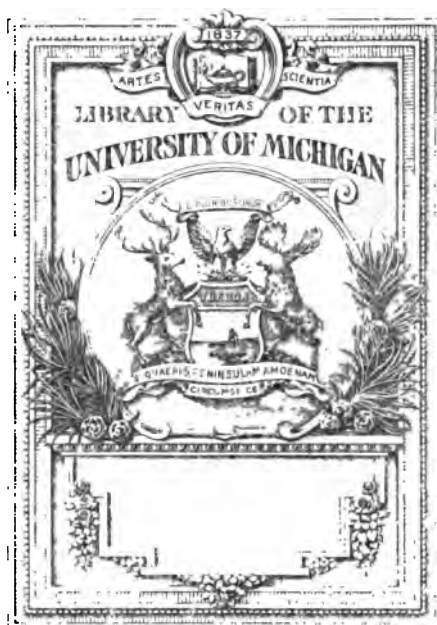
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ANTIQUE BRONZE AND MARBLE BUST OF NERO.

**PRESENTED TO THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY BY ANDREW LANGOON,
PRESIDENT. SEE PAGE 497.**

PUBLISHED

BUFFALO

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1901

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FRANK H. SEVERANCE
SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY

BUFFALO, NEW YORK:
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1906

Union and Times Press
Buffalo

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BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY
1906

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[Mr. North resigned May 3, 1906, the Secretary being elected Treasurer for the remainder of Mr. North's term.]

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The Mayor of Buffalo, the Corporation Counsel, the Comptroller, Superintendent of Education, President of the Board of Park Commissioners, and President of the Common Council, are also *ex-officio* members of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society.

LIST OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY

FROM ITS ORGANIZATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

*MILLARD FILLMORE, ...	1862 to 1867
*HENRY W. ROGERS, ...	1868
*REV. ALBERT T. CHESTER, D. D., ...	1869
*ORSAMUS H. MARSHALL, ...	1870
*HON. NATHAN K. HALL, ...	1871
*WILLIAM H. GREENE, ...	1872
*ORLANDO ALLEN, ...	1873
*OLIVER G. STEELE, ...	1874
*HON. JAMES SHELDON, ...	1875 and 1886
*WILLIAM C. BRYANT, ...	1876
*CAPT. E. P. DORR, ...	1877
HON. WILLIAM P. LETCHWORTH, ...	1878
WILLIAM H. H. NEWMAN, ...	1879 and 1885
*HON. ELIAS S. HAWLEY, ...	1880
*HON. JAMES M. SMITH, ...	1881
*WILLIAM HODGE, ...	1882
*WILLIAM DANA FOBES, ...	1883 and 1884
*EMMOR HAINEs, ...	1887
*JAMES TILLINGHAST, ...	1888
*WILLIAM K. ALLEN, ...	1889
*GEORGE S. HAZARD, ...	1890 and 1892
*JOSEPH C. GREENE, M. D., ...	1891
*JULIUS H. DAWES, ...	1893
ANDREW LANGDON, ...	1894 to 1906

* Deceased.

P R E F A C E

THE present volume, like its predecessors, is a historical miscellany relating chiefly to the region of Buffalo, the Niagara Frontier and the Lower Lakes. Although in a sense "local history," very little herein contained is merely local. Most of the papers will be found of distinct value as contributions to the historical literature of several critical periods in the one broad Story of America.

Several of the papers were prepared expressly for this volume, notably the history of "The Johnson's Island Plot," by Mr. Frederick J. Shepard; the paper on "Millard Fillmore and his part in the Opening of Japan," by William Elliot Griffis, D. D.; and the sketch of Louis Le Couteulx, by Miss Martha J. F. Murray.

Mr. Shepard's paper on "The Johnson's Island Plot" is an ideal monograph on a subject which is worthy the careful attention the author has given it. It may be here noted that since this paper was put in type, there has appeared a book by John W. Headley of Louisville, Ky. ("Confederate Operations in Canada and New York." N. Y. and Washington: Neale Publishing Co., 1906), which gives (pp. 301-307) a somewhat detailed account of the attempted train-wrecking exploit near Buffalo. Col. Headley supplies the names of ten persons as participants—his own being one—and in some other respects varies from the story of this affair as told by Anderson on Beall's trial. But Headley's

chief contribution to the Johnson's Island story is his conviction that the person who betrayed the plot to the Federal authorities was one Godfrey J. Hyams of Little Rock, Ark.

The study of "Millard Fillmore and his part in the Opening of Japan," by Dr. Griffis was originally given as an address before the members of the Buffalo Historical Society. All who heard the distinguished author on that occasion, or who may read his paper in this volume, will be pleased to learn that the interest in the subject which was awakened by the writing of this sketch has led Dr. Griffis to enter upon the preparation of a comprehensive life of Millard Fillmore, a work which, singularly enough, has not heretofore been done. The existing biographies were published during his lifetime and were of the nature of campaign documents. The one which is perhaps best known, by W. L. Barre of Kentucky, appeared in 1856, eighteen years before Mr. Fillmore's death and when he was before the public as a candidate for the Presidency. That biographies so prepared are inadequate to the demands of the thoughtful student of American history, is obvious.

Dr. Griffis will be grateful for any documents or personal reminiscences, especially by those who were intimate with Mr. Fillmore in the latter years of his life in Buffalo, which may enable him to make a true presentation of Mr. Fillmore's character and the part which he bore in the affairs of his time. Dr. Griffis may be addressed at Ithaca, N. Y., or in the care of the Buffalo Historical Society.

The editor of this volume had planned to supplement the paper by Dr. Griffis with certain reminiscences of Mr. Fillmore by his old friends and neighbors in Buffalo, and by a collection of his writings. As this material was brought

together it grew to such proportions that it was found impossible to include it in the present volume. A succeeding volume of this series will therefore be largely—perhaps wholly—devoted to the writings of Mr. Fillmore and to related matter deemed of permanent historical value. His messages and other executive documents are now collected in print and easy of access. It is not proposed to reprint these; but to gather up from many sources his letters, personal and public, his speeches on great issues, and sundry miscellaneous writings never yet brought together. Such a work is indeed an obligation on the part of the Buffalo Historical Society, of which Millard Fillmore was a founder and its first president. It is hoped the volume may be ready early in the coming year.

One matter of peculiar local interest, touched on by Dr. Griffis, is the destruction of Mr. Fillmore's papers by the executors of his son's estate. The facts in the case, it is believed, are stated in a note on page 65. However much one may regret the loss of such rich material for the right reading of history, yet the present editor cannot endorse Dr. Griffis' phrase (p. 77) that it was a "wanton" destruction. The attorney, faithful in the discharge of a legal obligation, had no honorable alternative, however much he may have regretted the loss which his act entailed.

Miss Murray's pleasant paper on Louis Le Couteulx, and the accompanying documents, bring out for the first time in local annals, a picturesque and worthy character. It is a painstaking and sympathetic study, and only the lack of material touching certain periods of Mr. Le Couteulx's career, keeps it from being—what in all other respects it already is—a definitive picture of one of the most attractive figures in the early history of Buffalo. Special acknowledg-

ment is herewith made, on the part of the author, of assistance rendered by Mr. John McManus of Buffalo, especially for the use of correspondence relating to Mr. Le Couteulx's captivity; also for assistance given by the Rev. John J. Dillon, pastor of St. Mary's church, Albany; Mr. P. H. McQuade and Miss Helen F. Moran of the Public School Department, Albany; and the Rev. Charles Duffy, assistant pastor, Immaculate Conception church, Buffalo.

Probably nothing in this volume will prove more welcome to many readers in Buffalo than the collection of pioneer reminiscences by Mrs. Jonathan Sidway, Mrs. Martha St. John Skinner, Mrs. Benjamin Bidwell, William Hodge and others who bore a part in the strenuous days of Buffalo's infancy. These papers were written many years ago and deposited with the Buffalo Historical Society. At that time the society was not able to undertake their publication; but the wise forethought which saw to it that these papers were penned before it was too late, now enables us to help fill in the printed record of Buffalo's early days, especially of the crucial years of the War of 1812.

The editor feels that a word of explanation is due for the use of so much of his own writing in these pages. When the work of publishing this volume was entered upon, he was promised for use therein, what he believed would be a most valuable and elaborate contribution to the historical narratives of this region; only to learn, after waiting some months for the manuscript, that he was not to have it. That there should not be undue delay in issuing this volume, he turned to his own manuscripts to fill the gap. Perhaps the chief claim of "The Story of Joncaire" to attention is, that it is based wholly on documentary sources, treats of a period which heretofore has received but little attention from writ-

ers, and sets forth for the first time numerous data of importance in the history of the region. Since these chapters were printed, the author has learned of the letter written by the first Baron de Longueuil, April 28, 1726, appointing his son Charles Le Moyne (then a captain, afterwards second Baron de Longueuil) to be the first commandant of Fort Niagara—the focal point of all our regional history under the French. It directs him to repair to Niagara with a detachment of troops, to superintend the construction of the fort; and calls upon the officers and soldiers of the detachment, and especially upon Lieutenant the Sieur de Joncaire, and upon all travelers passing through the Niagara, to acknowledge his authority. As this first commission of the first commandant of Fort Niagara is a document of some consequence in our local annals, it may be given here as matter of record:

“Charles Le Moyne, Baron de Longueuil, Chevalier de St. Louis, gouverneur de Montréal, et commandant général pour le roy en toute la Nouvelle-France.

“It est ordonné au Sieur de Longueuil, capt. des troupes destinées pour Niagara, de se rendre avec le plus de diligence qu’il pourra au poste de Niagara, avec le détachement que nous lui avons donné, afin d’y exécuter les ordres dont nous l’avons chargés pour le service de Sa Majesté.

“Enjoignons aux officiers et soldats du susdit détachement et au Sieur de Joncaire, lieutenant des troupes, que nous avons fait partir pour se rendre des premiers à Niagara, de reconnaître le dit Sieur de Longueuil pour commandant et de lui obéir en tout ce qu’il leur commandera pour le service du Roy; ordonnons pareillement aux voyageurs qui passeront à Niagara, tant en montant qu’en descendant, de luy obéir en tout ce qu’il pourra leur commander pour le service de Sa Majesté. LONGUEUIL.”

“Fait à Montreal, le vingt-huit Avril 1726.”

The series of Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society now includes nine volumes. The first two are out of print; the others can be supplied by the Society. A list of them, with their principal contents, will be found in Appendix B of this volume.

F. H. S.

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THE JOHNSON'S ISLAND PLOT¹

AN HISTORICAL NARRATIVE OF THE CONSPIRACY OF THE
CONFEDERATES, IN 1864, TO CAPTURE THE U. S.
STEAMSHIP MICHIGAN ON LAKE ERIE, AND
RELEASE THE PRISONERS OF WAR
IN SANDUSKY BAY.

BY FREDERICK J. SHEPARD.

I. THE SCENE OF ACTION.

Tuesday, Sept. 20, 1864, was a day of excitement at Buffalo. That morning Provost Marshal William F. Rogers received the following dispatch from the Commandant of the depot for prisoners of war near Sandusky, O.:

JOHNSON'S ISLAND, Sept. 20.

PROVOST MARSHAL AND MILITARY COMMANDER:

Rebels from Canada captured the steamers Parsons and Island Queen near the Bass Islands yesterday afternoon and have gone down or across the lake, disappearing from the Islands between 10 and 11 o'clock last night, probably gone for reinforcements, guns,

1. The main printed authorities for this article are the "Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies," which will be referred to as O. R., the "Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies" being designated as O. R. (N), and the "Memoir of John Yates Beall," which includes his diary and the official account of his trial. The latter was published separately by Appleton in 1865 and is summarized in O. R., ser. 2, v. 8, pp. 279-82, 398-400.

and ammunition. The capturing party numbered about thirty, with abundance of revolvers and bowie knives; no other arms were noticed. At Middle Bass Island the captors took wood enough to last two days. Warn all vessels and steamers and send all important information here. We have one of the principal conspirators in arrest.

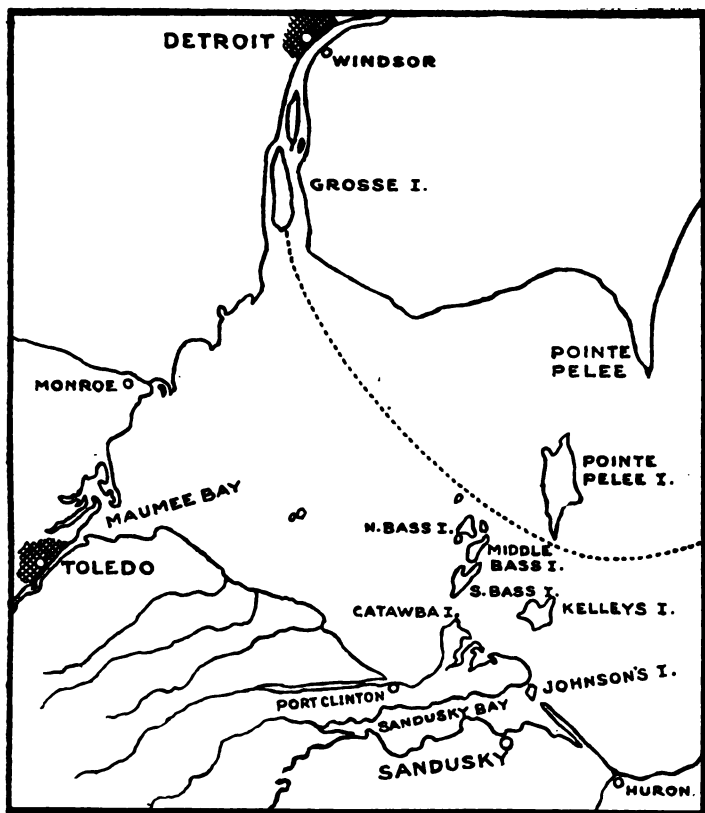
CHAS. W. HILL,

Colonel Commanding.

During the afternoon a similar dispatch was received by Mayor William G. Fargo from Col. Lathrop, inspector-general on the staff of Gen. Heintzleman, commanding the Northern Department, at Columbus, O., with this additional statement: "It is presumed that it was the intention of the pirates to capture boats of the Michigan and release the prisoners on Johnson's Island. As they were foiled in this, they may with the two steamers commence depredations on the lake."

A meeting of the Board of Trade was called at 2 P. M., at which, on the motion of David S. Bennett, it was voted to procure and arm one or two tugs to act as pickets off Buffalo Harbor. While the board was still in session a telegram, supposed to be from the operator at Detroit, was received, announcing that both the captured steamers had been retaken, that the Island Queen had been sunk, and that the Parsons had been towed into Detroit Harbor in a sinking condition. Fifteen minutes later still another dispatch was received giving further particulars of the raid, this being signed by Walter O. Ashley, clerk of the steamer Parsons, who was on board at the time of the capture. The tugboat Sarah E. Bryant was chartered and armed that evening and placed on guard off the harbor, but the next day, the alarm

The fullest account of the raid is that by Gen. Dix in O. R., ser. 1, v. 43, pt. 2, pp. 225-47, but this is supplemented by the testimony on the trial of Beall, and especially by that in the Burley extradition proceedings given in the Upper Canada Law Journal, n. s., v. 1, and also printed in the *Toronto Globe* of Jan. 28, 1865, a copy of which is in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society. That the Michigan was seen by those on board the Parsons and that a Confederate flag was hoisted on the latter are facts brought out only in the Toronto proceedings. Most of the statements regarding the establishment and conduct of the prison are from O. R., ser. 2, v. 3, 4, 5, and 6. Other data have been gathered by interview or correspondence with participants in the events described, as will appear from the narrative.



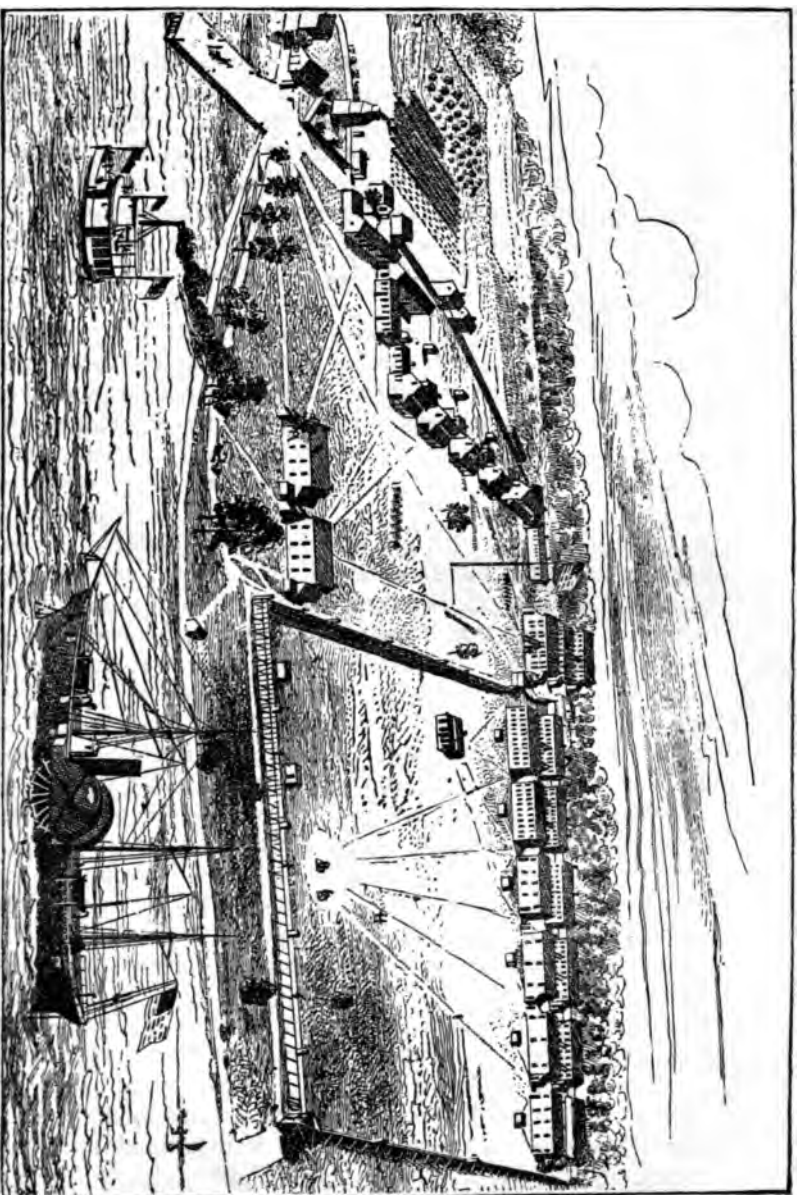
MAP SHOWING JOHNSON'S ISLAND,
Entrance to Sandusky Bay, and other features of the western
end of Lake Erie.

having subsided, it was concluded that her further services could be dispensed with. An occasional newspaper paragraph afterwards marked the only local interest in the most nearly successful of several conspiracies by Confederate refugees in Canada to capture the United States ship *Michigan* and release the Johnson's Island prisoners.

The Island has recently been recalled to memory by the rejection of its claim to designation as the place for the

Great Lakes naval training station, in favor of Lake Bluffs, near Chicago. This decision by the Washington authorities was a grievous disappointment to Sandusky folk, who regarded the site offered by themselves as far and away the best on the inland seas. Most of the harbors on the Great Lakes consist of narrow creeks, the sheltering facilities of which have been increased by the construction of costly breakwaters, but Sandusky lies upon a broad bay which only requires dredging to form a great natural harbor. Within the bay lies Johnson's Island² of 300 acres, gently rising from the surface of Lake Erie to a height of fifty feet. The natural surroundings are very pleasing, the region salubrious, the climate as mild as at any point on the Great Lakes, while the situation, hard by a thickly settled part of the country and easily accessible but remote from the distractions of a great city, seemed to supply the ideal site for such an institution as was planned. The objection which prevailed against its selection is understood to have been its accessibility to a foreign and possibly hostile nation; and, however unreasonable this suggestion now sounds, it must be admitted that while the island was in use as a place of detention for captured Confederate officers its contiguity to Canada was a source of constant anxiety to the Federal authorities. That this anxiety was not altogether without basis will be shown in this paper, which is an attempt to tell, coherently, a story, the usual narration of which has involved much incoherence and more fiction.

2. The island is supposed to have been the seat of a French trading post from 1708 to 1744, when the Wyandotte Indians killed five of the occupants and drove the survivors to Detroit. They returned in 1749 and continued to occupy the island until shortly before the Revolution. It was included in the Fire Lands and came into the possession of Epaphroditus W. Bull of Danbury, Conn., whose family owned it until the sale to L. B. Johnson. The latter had sold a small portion just before his death, and all but twenty-four of 286 acres which compose the island are now owned by James H. Emrich and Charles Dick of Sandusky. Stone from quarries there was used in the construction of the Cleveland breakwater. The *Sandusky Register* of June 10, 1902, contains a brief history of the island by Mrs. Alice McK. Melville Milne. There are some interesting pictures of prison life there with Horace Carpenter's "Plain Living at Johnson's Island," *Century Magazine*, n. s., v. 19, pp. 705-18, March, 1891.



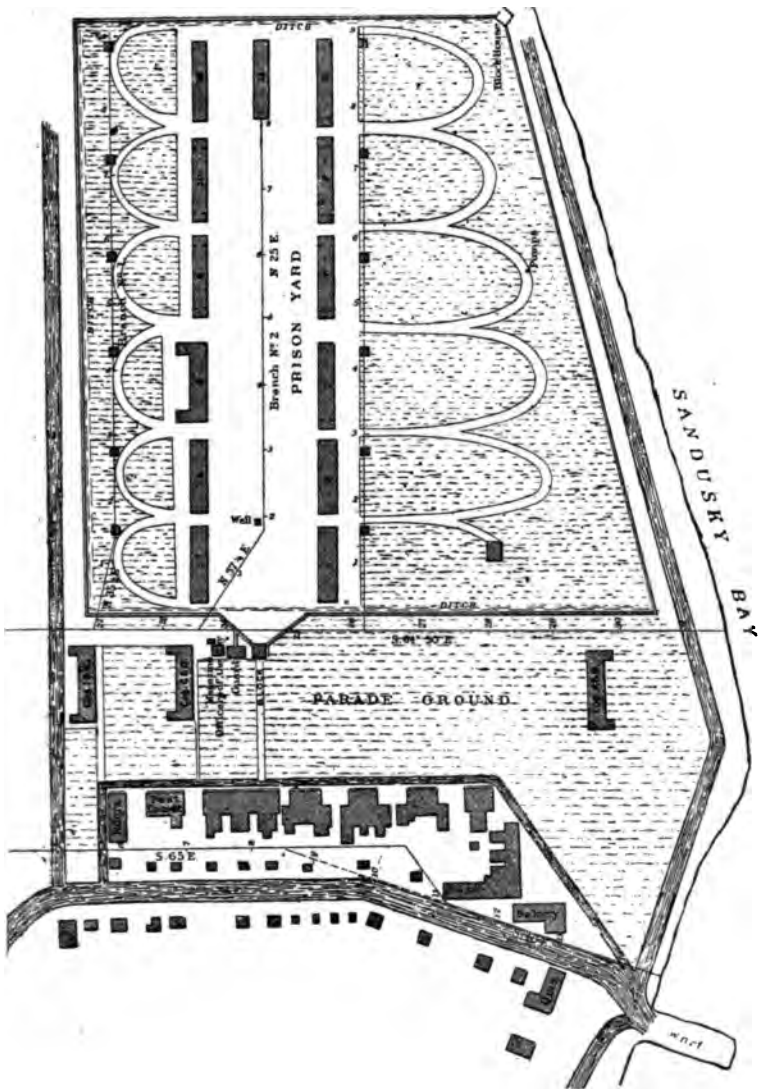
DEPOT OF CONFEDERATE PRISONERS ON JOHNSON'S ISLAND, SANDUSKY BAY, LAKE ERIE.

From a lithograph of a War-time sketch made by Edward Gould, Co. B., 128th Ohio. In the foreground is the U. S. Steamer Michigan. The long radiating lines in the enclosure are paths leading from the prison blocks to the pumps.

Col. William Hoffman, whose name is familiar to old Buffalonians, was an officer of the Third Infantry who had the misfortune to be surrendered by Gen. Twiggs to the Confederates at the very beginning of the Civil War, and as they persistently refused to release him from his parole he was appointed Commissary General of Prisoners and held this position under the Federal Government to the end. In October, 1861, he selected Johnson's Island as a depot for prisoners of war.

An area of fifteen acres on the south shore of the island was enclosed by a fence twelve feet high, and within were constructed thirteen two-story barracks and a hospital, the barracks varying in length from 117 to 134 feet and in width from twenty-four to twenty-nine feet and being divided, four into twenty-two rooms and the others into six compartments each. The fence or palisade, which was of pickets on the lake side and of closely-fitting boards on the other three sides, was protected by a blockhouse at the northeast corner, and another not far from the southwest corner so situated that it guarded the gate and looked down the street on either side of which stood the two rows of barracks. Of all the buildings, including the dozen or so outside the enclosure in which were quartered the guards, this blockhouse at the gate alone is standing at the present time and forms, with the Confederate cemetery and the ruins of two earth forts, erected late in the history of the prison, the only memorial of the island's Federal occupation. The cemetery is north of the former enclosure and occupies a plot given for the purpose by Leonard B. Johnson, who owned the island from 1852 until his death in 1898, and who for a time maintained at his own expense a fence about the burial place.

About 230 Confederates were buried here, and there are now 206 graves, the rough wooden slabs, inscribed by the survivors with penknife or pencil, having given place to uniform marble tombstones which were erected by the people of the South as the consequence of a visit to Sandusky by a Southern editorial excursion. The United States Govern-



SKETCH OF MILITARY PRISON ON JOHNSON'S ISLAND, O.

From Atlas accompanying the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 1861-1865. Washington, 1895. The drawing was made in 1864 to accompany an estimate for cost of waterworks, and shows water-courses and pipe-lines relating to that work.

ment provided the iron fence which now encloses them. For years the Sandusky Grand Army men have annually decorated these graves just as they do those of the Union dead on the mainland, and they have even incurred some criticism for so doing. Among the Confederates who lie here were at least five prisoners executed by the order of military commissions. Two of these were Captains William F. Corbin and T. G. McGraw, who had been captured early in April, 1863, in Pendleton County, Ky., had been convicted in Cincinnati of recruiting Confederates within the Federal lines, and were shot to death May 15th on the island in pursuance of orders from Gen. Burnside.³ At a later date two prisoners were hanged for their atrocious treatment of Southern Unionists. This execution, of which the writer has been unable to find mention in the "Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies," is attested by Henry C. Strong, a respected Sandusky manufacturer, who at the time was an assistant quartermaster on the island and had the misfortune to be detailed to witness the event. It must have occurred some time in 1864, for an official report⁴ in January of that year shows that there had then been but three executions all told, although 6,415 prisoners had been received, of whom 2,983 had been exchanged, 302 discharged on oath of allegiance, parole, or otherwise, 363 transferred to other prisons, and one shot dead by a sentinel, while but three had escaped.

The insignificant percentage of escapes is notable in view of the fact that only a narrow and shallow passage separates

3. O. R., ser. 2, v. 5, p. 556 et passim. In retaliation for their execution the Confederate Government ordered the hanging of two Union officers of equal rank, who were to be selected by lot. The lot fell to Capts. Henry W. Sawyer, First New Jersey cavalry, and John M. Flinn, 51st Indiana infantry, and they were actually taken to the place of execution, and ropes put around their necks. The execution was delayed by the accident that Flinn was a Roman Catholic and had not received the rites of the church, and they would surely have been hanged at the expiration of their reprieve of ten days, had not President Lincoln ordered that, in case the execution was carried out in their case, Gen. William H. F. Lee, a son of Robert E. Lee, and another Confederate officer should at once be hanged. In consequence these officers were finally exchanged. The experience of Capts. Sawyer and Flinn is told dramatically by James M. Stradling in *McClure's Magazine*, v. 26, pp. 94-101, November, 1905.

4. O. R., ser. 2, v. 6, p. 851.

the island from the mainland on the west, while in winter the frozen lake afforded some facilities for reaching Canada. However, a ditch dug just inside the palisade to the solid rock, which is nowhere more than a few feet from the surface, proved a formidable obstacle to tunneling. A story is told in Frank Moore's "Anecdotes, Poetry, and Incidents of the War," of a party of fugitives, two or three of whom managed one dark, wet night to crawl under the fence. But a stout fellow who attempted to follow them got stuck and unable to wriggle either back or forward, remained in his uncomfortable position from 9 P. M. till 5.30 A. M., when the cold forced him to call a sentinel's attention to his predicament, with the result that the other men were retaken before they got off the island.

In the "Southern Historical Society Papers" it is related that Lieut. Charles H. Pierce of the Seventh Louisiana Infantry improvised a musket from a piece of wood, fruit cans, and the handle of a camp kettle, and, having procured a Federal uniform from someone connected with the hospital, tried to pass himself off as a guard, but his lack of a cartridge box caused a rebuking officer to take from him the musket, the lightness of which of course undid him.⁵

One man who actually succeeded in escaping, only to suffer a worse fate than confinement on Johnson's Island, was Capt. Robert C. Kennedy of the First Louisiana Infantry, a former West Point cadet, who in November, 1864, participated in the conspiracy to burn New York, himself attempting to set fire to Barnum's Museum and the Belmont and Tammany Hotels, for which he was hanged at Fort Lafayette, under especially shocking conditions, March 25, 1865. The fact that the prisoners were practically all officers made their care more difficult; for not only were they more fertile in expedients and more eager to escape than would have been the case with the same number of rank and file, but they were also more insubordinate, especially when it came to

5. V. 8, pp. 65-6, January, 1880. Lieut. M. McNamara, who tells this story, admits that, though this was only one of repeated attempts by Pierce to escape, Col. Hill humanely overlooked the offense and complimented the prisoner on his courage and ingenuity, but confiscated the gun as a curiosity.

requiring them to perform such necessary police duty as the removal of garbage. That they knew of the conspiracies to effect their release is the evidence, among others, of Archibald S. McKennon of South McAlester, I. T., counsel for the Seminole nation and a valued member of the Dawes Commission, who as a captain and assistant quartermaster of the Sixteenth Arkansas Infantry had been captured at Port Hudson. In a communication to the writer he says of the Beall conspiracy:

"We were organized into companies and regiments and had armed ourselves with clubs, which were made of stove wood and other material at hand, with which to make the fight. I think I was a captain of the organization, for I occupied some position by which I had information of the contemplated movement. I remember I had several conferences with the Colonel as to my duties, and we were in constant expectation of orders, which never came, to make the fight. It surely would have been a pitiable affair, for the undertaking was wholly impracticable."

Lieut. J. W. Gamble of Catawba Island, whose battery of light artillery was at the time stationed on Johnson's Island and at Cedar Point opposite, says that the prisoners appeared to be anticipating a raid of some sort.

The number of prisoners averaged 788 during 1862, 1,205 during 1863, and 2,480 during 1864, running still higher in the early months of 1865.⁶ The period in which we have most interest is the latter part of September, 1864, and on the last day of that month the number was 2,663. In the "Collections of the Virginia Historical Society" (new series, vol. 6), can be found the names of 2,545 prisoners who were on the island between Nov. 22, 1862, and Sept. 5, 1864, with their rank, military affiliations, and place of capture, together with a list of 168 others who died between May 1, 1862, and March 3, 1864, with the cause of death.⁷ The

6. Whitelaw Reid's "Ohio in the War," v. 2, pp. 653-6.

7. Joe Barbieri's "Scraps from the Prison Table, at Camp Chase and Johnson's Island" (Doylestown, Pa., 1868), contains another roster of 1,323 prisoners confined at Johnson's Island and exchanged in September, 1862, with their regiments and place and date of capture and some further information regarding them.

prison was guarded by the Hoffman Battalion, which, consisting at the start of two companies recruited in Sandusky and the neighborhood, was increased during 1862 by the addition of two more, and in January, 1864, became, on receiving six more companies, the 128th Ohio Infantry. Many of the officers and men had been at the front with other organizations and owed their presence on the island to wounds or enfeebled health, and details from the regiment were frequently called away to repel Confederate raids into other parts of the state, or neighboring states, so that, with the rather exacting duties of guarding the prisoners and fortifying the island, the members of this force enjoyed their share of hard work, even if it was not attended with much danger. The battalion was commanded by Lieut.-Col. William S. Pierson,⁸ a Sandusky lawyer belonging to a distinguished Windsor, Conn., family and a Yale graduate of the class of 1836, who, though no soldier, conducted the affairs of the prison with such intelligence and fidelity that at the close of the war, on the recommendation of Gen. Hoffman, he was brevetted a brigadier general, in spite of the fact that he had resigned when the battalion became a regiment, to the command of which Charles W. Hill, Adjutant-General of the state, had appointed himself. Whatever criticism Pierson's conduct of the prison received was generally on the ground that he was not sufficiently severe. Inspecting officers sometimes reported that "too much lenity has been allowed the prisoners."⁹ Gen. Hoffman wrote the Commandant that "kindness alone will not keep prisoners in subjection." Gen. Trimble, a prisoner, in a letter complaining of other matters, admitted that excellent bread and coffee were furnished.

8. He had been Mayor of Sandusky in 1861. In 1864 he returned to Windsor and "spent the last fifteen years of his life on his father's homestead, in uneventful but very active attention to a wide range of business, both personal and as a trust for others, for which his integrity and judgment fitted him in a rare degree. . . . He was the fifth in descent from the first Rector of Yale College. As he had no children, and no brothers who attained maturity, and as his father was the only son of an only son, the male line of this branch of Rector Pierson's descendants terminated with him, in one who was well worthy to close the line of a worthy ancestor."—*Historical and Biographical Record of the Class of 1836, in Yale College.*

9. O. R., ser. 2, v. 4, pp. 88-9; v. 6, pp. 900 and 902.

Departing prisoners sometimes dropped hints to the officers that a stronger guard was needed, and we even find some of the Confederate conspirators relying on Pierson's humanity as a factor in favor of the success of their plans.

II. TREATMENT OF THE PRISONERS.

In November, 1863, Gen. Jacob D. Cox¹⁰ made a careful examination of the prison conditions, and he records that the food was plain but good in quality, similar to the army ration and at that time abundant. He was fully satisfied that the garrison administration was honest and humane and that the prisoners suffered only such evils as were necessarily incident to confinement in a narrow space and to life in temporary barracks of the kind used in all military camps. Unhappily there is ample evidence that at a later period and under the administration of Col. Hill, the treatment of the prisoners was harsher. Horace Carpenter says in the *Century* that the food was insufficient to satisfy the cravings of hunger and left the prisoners each day with a little less life and strength with which to fight the battle of the day to follow, and that for months he was not free from the cravings of hunger. Maj. Robert Stiles, a well-known Richmond lawyer and the author of "Four Years under Marse Robert," testifies that the rations were at sundry times reduced below the amount confessedly indispensable to the maintenance of a man in full health, and that he observed pitiful hunger and destitution, although he acknowledges that he did not suffer seriously in his own person.¹¹ But perhaps the most convincing evidence that harsher treat-

10. "Military Reminiscences of the Civil War," v. 2, pp. 57-66.

11. "Southern Historical Society Papers," v. 1, pp. 279-81, April, 1876. In his book, "The Southern Side; or Andersonville Prison Compiled from Original Documents" (Baltimore, 1876), Dr. R. Randolph Stevenson charges (pp. 168-9) against Johnson's Island poor quality of food, lack of medicine, insufficient clothing, and cruel treatment. But as the surgeon in charge at Andersonville he had personal reasons for the *tu quoque* argument, and he fails to give the names of his witnesses.

ment prevailed after the North had become wrought up over the sufferings of Federals in Southern prison pens, is incidentally revealed in this story, which is otherwise interesting, told by Mr. McKennon to express his warm regard for Lieut.-Col. Scoville, Hill's second in command:

"I was chief of my mess of about eighty men and had charge of the cook room on the lower floor at the north end of Block 13. We organized a tunneling party, at first of six men. When we were worked down we swore in six more, then the third six, making in all eighteen men. We began tunneling immediately under the cook room and dug a tunnel toward the north prison wall, as I now remember two and a half feet in diameter and about thirty-six feet long. The man in the hole used an old horse rasp in digging. He filled a pan which was drawn out by a string by a man at the mouth of the tunnel, and a third man back under the floor drew it back with the string and stored the dirt away. Just before we got to the wall we were intercepted by a ditch dug just inside of the wall about four feet deep to a solid rock, under which we endeavored to make our way, but failed. We abandoned the work one evening, and there was a heavy rainfall that night, and the tunnel caved in about half way between the block and the ditch.

"The next morning Col. Scoville came in and told me he wanted to investigate the tunneling business. I went through and showed him the way and told him all about it. Finally he asked me how many were in it. I asked him to excuse me for not answering that question, adding that I knew the orders which had been posted in the prison, in which it was stated that in case of tunneling the rations would be cut off and the chief of the mess in which it occurred would be punished severely. I told him the members of the mess were innocent, that if we had been aware that anyone knew it and was liable to divulge the facts we would have killed him, and that the prisoners' rations were already so scant and they were so thin and enfeebled for want of sufficient food that if their rations were cut off for a day it would prove fatal to many, and that he might as well kill them outright.

"He asked me if we were indeed hungry. I told him I weighed normally 152 pounds and that I had gone down to 108 for want of sufficient food, but that I was in his hands for punishment and would submit to any that he might impose, only I did not want anyone else punished. My associates were looking on, and had he taken me from the prison, all would have gone with me.

"He said: 'I believe I will not punish you. I think I would have done the same thing, had I been in your condition.' I told him I was not wanting punishment, for I knew I could not stand much and would be grateful if he would excuse me. He then said he would send us something to eat, and in a little while we received about as much food as we usually got in two days."

Mr. McKennon was so grateful that long afterward, when Guiteau was tried for the murder of Garfield, thinking that his brother-in-law and counsel, Scoville, might be his old acquaintance, he offered to come on and remain with him through the ordeal and give him all the assistance he could in Guiteau's defense; but inquiry proved that the brother-in-law was not his old keeper. It is worth noting that the Johnson's Island Scoville was such a strict disciplinarian that, according to one of his officers, he was known among his own men as "Old Pizen."

All of the accounts written by prisoners have much to say of their suffering from cold during a Great Lake winter. In one of his reports Col. Pierson described his charges as "the coldest set he ever saw." They were unused to weather of the zero kind, and they were thinly clad, while it would have been impossible to keep their roughly constructed barracks comfortable under the most favorable conditions. Probably their guards also suffered a good deal from the same cause. It is true that the Government professed to supply such of the prisoners as actually needed them with overcoats, but complaint is made of the stringency of the regulations which kept a long line of shivering men waiting for hours out of doors while the garments were doled out to them. It is difficult for anyone who examines the evidence

to question that much hardship was endured during the last years of the war.

When reports of Confederate plots to release the prisoners reached the authorities, the force on the island was hurriedly strengthened by details from the front or elsewhere. During the winter of 1863-4 there arrived six companies of the Twelfth Ohio Cavalry, the Twenty-fourth Battery with six guns, and two detachments of the First Ohio Heavy Artillery with seven heavy guns. From January until April, 1864, five regiments, forming the first brigade of the third division of the Sixth Corps,¹² were quartered, four under Gen. Alexander Shaler on the island and one under Gen. H. D. Terry in Sandusky. During the same year several Ohio regiments were sent to the island for longer or shorter periods as a place of rendezvous, equipment, and instruction. Mr. Strong says that some of the prisoners first became convinced of the hopelessness of their cause when, peeping between the pickets of their palisade, they viewed the movements of troops hurriedly summoned to prevent an expected or imagined outbreak on their part. They knew that every available man in the South was at the front, but the North seemed to have an inexhaustible supply left, if these could be brought to the island on such short notice.

Almost from the establishment of the prison there were fears of Confederate incursions from Canada and of an outbreak on the part of the inmates. So early as June, 1862, Col. Pierson was asking for more troops and begging that the Michigan, which usually lay at Erie and was the only war vessel on the lakes, might be sent to help guard the prisoners. It was apparently at about this time¹³ that the plan was adopted of stationing her in Sandusky Bay during the summer months, though she went back to her old Erie moor-

12. The regiments on the island were the 65th and 67th New York and the 23d and 82d Pennsylvania, the 122d Ohio being in Sandusky. Gen. Terry had command of the prison as well as the troops, and on his departure Col. Hill's regime began.

13. The Michigan was used more or less for recruiting at the lake ports for the navy, but she had been sent to Sandusky before July 10, 1862. O. R., ser. 2, v. 4, p. 167.

ings with the approach of winter. Whether there was any basis for the warnings of rebel raids sent from Detroit and Windsor, Ont., in June, 1862, is not clear, but we know that in February, 1863, Lieut. William H. Murdaugh,¹⁴ then on board the Confederate steamer Beaufort at Richmond, laid before his superiors a scheme for the capture of the Michigan and the destruction of the lake cities. He proposed to purchase in Canada a small steamer (of 200 tons or so) and man her with a crew of fifty whose ostensible purpose was to be mining on Lake Superior. The men were to be armed with cutlasses and revolvers, and to be equipped with small iron buoys to be used as torpedoes, and also with powder and fuses and spirits of turpentine, to be used for starting fires in the lake cities and for blowing up the canal locks in and near Buffalo, the aqueduct at Rochester, the Ohio canal locks on the shore of Lake Erie, the Illinois and Michigan locks at Chicago, and the lock at Sault Ste. Marie. The first point to be aimed at was Erie, where the Michigan was to be captured by boarding. Thence the smaller vessel was to be sent back to Lake Ontario before the news of the affair had reached the Canadians, if possible, to perform a work of destruction along the shore of New York State, while the Michigan proceeded to burn the shipping at Buffalo, Chicago, and Milwaukee and to destroy all the canal locks near the lakes. She was finally to be run ashore in the Georgian Bay and destroyed.

The scheme met with the approval of the Confederate naval authorities and Cabinet, and the sum of \$100,000 was collected for carrying it out, but, as a memorandum by Murdaugh says, when everything was ready for a start, President Davis, while deeming the enterprise practicable, caused it to be laid aside for a time, lest such a storm should be aroused over the violation of the British neutrality laws as to force a stop to the building of Confederate ironclads which were on the stocks in England. It will be noticed that the release of the prisoners on Johnson's Island formed no part

14. O. R. (N), ser. 1, v. 2, p. 828. Murdaugh speaks with much disgust of the final mismanagement of the affair by the Confederate naval authorities.

of this plot, which had doubtless been conceived before any large number of Confederates had been sent thither. But in August, 1863, Secretaries Seddon and Mallory suggested to Lieut. R. D. Minor, also of the Confederate navy, a similar enterprise having for its main purpose the release of the men confined at Sandusky. The proposition was eagerly embraced; and furnished with a fund of some \$111,000, a party of twenty-two naval officers, at the head of whom were Lieut.-Com. John Wilkinson and Lieuts. Minor and B. P. Loyall, successfully ran the blockade of the Cape Fear River and by way of Halifax reached Montreal about October 21st. Taking lodgings in private boarding-houses, the conspirators established communications with the prisoners through the personal column of the *New York Herald*, in which it was announced that "a carriage would be at the door a few nights after the 4th of November."

The original plan involved going aboard a lake steamer at Windsor, opposite Detroit, as passengers and seizing her when fairly out on Lake Erie. The prisoners were expected to rise on their guard, and their rescuers were simply to receive them on board for transportation to Canada. But it was found necessary to adopt a different arrangement when it was learned that the lake steamers seldom and only at irregular intervals made landings on the Canadian side of the river. The *Michigan* seems to have been absent from Sandusky Bay for awhile, for she took her station before Johnson's Island October 24th, and possibly the discovery that she was again on guard had something to do with the change of plan.¹⁵ It was determined that passage should be taken at St. Catharines on the Welland Canal aboard one of a line of steamers running from Ogdensburg to Chicago, for the party as mechanics and laborers bound for Chicago to be employed on the waterworks there. The conspirators, their number now augmented to fifty-four from escaped prisoners found in Canada, equipped with two small nine-pounders,

15. Besides making a cruise of Lake Erie in the early summer for the purpose of enlisting men, the *Michigan* had been summoned to Buffalo and Detroit on account of fears of draft riots in both cities.

100 navy revolvers, butcher knives in lieu of cutlasses, and dumb-bells in place of cannon balls, the purchase of which in Montreal would have aroused suspicion, assembled at St. Catharines, a private named Conelly having gone to Ogdensburg and paid the passage money for twenty-five of the party, with an agreement that as many more laborers should be taken as he could secure. The weapons were to be boxed up, marked "machinery," and put on board by one of the party who was to appear to be unconnected with the others. The plan was to seize the steamer when she was well clear of British jurisdiction, mount the two cannon, arrive at Sandusky about daylight, come into collision with the Michigan as if by accident, board and carry her, turn her guns on the prison headquarters, and demand the surrender of the island, Col. Pierson's well-known humanity being one of the factors relied on to insure the success of this part of the undertaking. With the half dozen steamers at the wharf at Sandusky the prisoners could speedily have been landed in Canada, and then the Michigan, manned by the fifty-four conspirators, "and some fifty of such men as the Berkeleys, Randolphs, Paynes, and others among the prisoners," would have had the lake shore from Sandusky to Buffalo at their mercy. Buffalo was especially marked out for attack.

But on November 11th, Lord Monck, Governor-General of Canada, warned the Washington authorities of the plot, at the same time sending a representative to watch the Welland Canal for any vessel whose passengers aroused suspicion and detaining at Port Colborne the Canadian Rifles, who were usually relieved at this time of year. Two days before Bennett H. Hill, Acting-Assistant Provost-Marshal at Detroit, and Lieut.-Col. Smith, military commander there, had warned the Washington and the Johnson's Island officials that within a few days an attack on the island might be expected.

On the strength of this Detroit message, although such an attack was deemed "very improbable," Gen. Jacob D. Cox, commanding the district of Ohio, ordered to the island November 10th a detachment of 500 infantry and a six-gun

rified battery. Lord Monck's warning was taken much more seriously. The Washington authorities sent a note of alarm to all the lake cities, and Gen. Dix hastened to Buffalo, whose undefended condition so greatly disturbed him that he recommended the removal of the prisoners from Johnson's Island. He reported to Secretary Stanton that the Buffalo militia regiments were only partially armed; that the State arsenal, with some 3,000 stand of arms and about twenty pieces of field artillery, was without a guard; and that the artillery was without ammunition. He ordered a tug to be chartered and armed, and he requested Governor Seymour to call out the 74th Regiment for thirty days. As the only regular troops in Buffalo consisted of about thirty men of the invalid corps, Gen. Brooks sent thither 100 men from Erie, where a considerable force had gathered and where the citizens had gone at work upon a small field defense commanding the entrance to the harbor.

At Sandusky Gen. Cox collected troops and superintended the construction of fortifications at Cedar Point on the mainland opposite Johnson's Island. At the end of the month Gen. Halleck, with his usual perspicuity, expressed the opinion that there was "no real foundation in the pretended raid," and Gen. Dix, in spite of his previous alarm, seems to have shared this view, but the facts regarding the preparations here related are taken from a letter written in February, 1864, to Admiral Buchanan by Lieut. Minor, who attributes the failure of the enterprise wholly to its betrayal to Lord Monck, and he charges this betrayal to one McCuaig, a Canadian sympathizer with the South, who at the last moment, when success seemed certain, Minor says, became alarmed at the possible future effect on his own fortunes and revealed the scheme to Mr. Holden, a member of the Provincial government.¹⁶ The conspirators, who had been awaiting hourly at St. Catharines the arrival of the steamer they were to board, dispersed and returned south by way of Halifax and Bermuda, a few of them lingering in Montreal

16. O. R. (N), ser. 1, v. 2, pp. 822-8. For further information regarding Lord Monck's message, see "Correspondence Relating to the Fenian Invasion and the Rebellion of the Southern States," Ottawa, 1869, pp. 75-80.

five or ten days in order to give the Canadian authorities an opportunity to arrest them, if they saw fit. It was one of the effects of the alarm all along the Great Lakes over this attempt that the Hoffman Battalion was increased to a full regiment, Col. Charles W. Hill supplanting Lieut.-Col. Pierson, as already related, in command of the depot of prisoners of war, as the island was officially designated.

III. CAPTAIN BEALL'S CONSPIRACY.

The relation between the project of Lieut. Minor in 1863 and the actual attempt of John Yates Beall in 1864 is not entirely clear, but the conception of the Beall enterprise is attributed, apparently with justice, to Jacob Thompson, President Buchanan's Secretary of the Interior, who in the summer of 1864 was sent to Canada, in company with Holcomb of Virginia and C. C. Clay of Alabama, as a Commissioner of the Confederacy charged to inflict such injury on the United States as should fall within his power. At any rate in an account he gives of the affair to Secretary Benjamin he says he sent Capt. Charles H. Cole, who professed to have been appointed a lieutenant in the Confederate navy, around the lakes as a lower deck passenger, in order to familiarize himself with the approaches to the different harbors and with the depositories of coal, and especially to enable him to learn all he could about the Michigan and to devise some plan for her capture. On his return from this duty, which, Thompson says, was performed very satisfactorily, he was sent to Sandusky to ingratiate himself with the officers of the Michigan, with the idea of bribing some of them to give up the ship. Capt. T. Henry Hines gives in Vol. 2 of the *Southern Bivouac*, a long account of "The Northwestern Conspiracy," in the course of which it is stated that on July 14, 1864, Thompson appointed Cole to the service of inspecting the lake defenses and providing for the capture of the Michigan, on the failure of W. L. McDonald, C. S. A., to

perform this task, and that soon after Cole made a special report, in which he said: "Buffalo is poorly protected: one regiment and a battalion of invalids. The regiment is at Camp Morgan, opposite Port Huron (Fort Erie), and between North and South Buffalo, and the battalion doing hospital duty and guarding the stores. There is a very large amount of government stores there, a large quantity of ammunition in United States arsenal, and also some cannon, mortars, and small arms. The arsenal is situated on Oak Street." Somewhat similar information is supplied about other cities, especially regarding access to them from the lakes, and the writer adds: "I have formed the acquaintance of Capt. Carter, commanding United States ship Michigan. He is an unpolished man, whose pride seems to be touched for the reason that, having been an old United States naval officer, he is not allowed now a more extensive field of operation."¹⁷ I do not think that he can be bought." Hines further says that Lieut. Bennett H. Young, who later was at the head of the St. Albans raiders, was sent to Sandusky to report to Cole for duty and to provide him with the necessary funds.

Cole's assertion to Thompson that he held a commission in the Confederate navy was one of his numerous falsehoods.¹⁸ At a later time, according to Maj. Stiles, there was a report among the Confederate officers that Cole¹⁹ had been in both the Northern and Southern armies and had deserted from both, but the only positive statement the writer can make about his history is that he had belonged to Gen. For-

17. Possibly Carter's appointment to the command of the Michigan was due to the fact that he was a Virginian by birth; but there never seems to have been any question of his entire loyalty. Laura G. Sanford's "History of Erie County, Pa.," quotes him (p. 342) as saying: "In early manhood my allegiance was given to my country, not my state, and to it I earnestly adhere." He held the rank of Commodore on the retired list when he died in Brooklyn, Nov. 24, 1870.

18. Secretary Mallory said Cole was not an officer in the Confederate navy. See *Southern Bivouac*, v. 2, p. 702, April, 1887.

19. At the trial of Merrick and Rosenthal, of which more hereafter, Maj. R. J. Persons of the Fifth Tennessee Infantry testified that Cole had been a lieutenant in his regiment, that he had been cashiered in December, 1863, and that he (Persons) always knew him to be a consummate liar. See *Cleveland Leader*, June 16, 1865.

rest's command, had been taken prisoner, and had in Memphis, in April, 1864, taken his parole²⁰ not to give aid or comfort to an enemy of the United States, swearing allegiance thereto and receiving in consequence permission to proceed to Harrisburg, Pa., which he gave as the home of his parents, on condition that he should report to the provost-marshal there. He is well remembered at Sandusky, where he appeared accompanied by a woman whom he sometimes introduced as his wife,²¹ but who was recognized by some of the officers of the Michigan as a person of dubious reputation. He stayed at the West House and cultivated with some success the acquaintance of army and navy officers. There appeared in the *Philadelphia Press* of Jan. 29, 1882, a long article by T. A. Burr—reprinted, in whole or in part, in the²² *Fire Lands Pioneer* (Norwalk, O.) for June, 1882—professing to be based on Cole's revelations, in which he is said to have represented himself as secretary of the Mount Hope Oil Company, of which Ex-President Fillmore (whom he calls Judge Fillmore) was president. He also asserts that he succeeded in getting two Confederates enlisted as seamen on the Michigan and ten more as soldiers on the Johnson's Island guard. But the article embraces so many absurdities—such as a visit to the Michigan by Jacob Thompson disguised in petticoats—and so much self-evident fiction, that it would not be safe to accept a word of it as true without other support. Mr. Clark Rude of Sandusky recalls the fact that Cole succeeded in depositing a large sum of

20. O. R., ser. 2, v. 8, p. 708.

21. The "Official Records" refer to her as Annie Cole; John Wilson Murray in his "Memoirs of a Great Detective," calls her "Irish Lize"; in the prosecution of Merrick and Rosenthal she figures as Anna Brown, and Cole himself, though styling her Annie Davis in the lying story he told Burr, in one instance refers to her as Belle Brandon. See *Cleveland Leader*, June 16, 1865.

22. This article also forms the basis of one by Frederick Boyd Stevenson in *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* for September, 1898, but Stevenson was a native of Sandusky and avoided a few of the absurdities in the Burr article, such as the attempt to involve the owner of the West House in Cole's charges. Gen. Jubal A. Early took Burr's article seriously enough to write a letter to the *Lynchburg Virginian* contradicting many of its statements. His letter was reprinted in the "Southern Historical Society Papers," v. 10, pp. 154-8, April, 1882. He supposed Burr was a Confederate, but he was a Michigan cavalryman and had been a Detroit newsboy.

money in a local bank, with which Mr. Rude was connected, with the unusual privilege of withdrawing it in gold on demand, and that later Lieut. Burke of the regular army was much chagrined at the ease with which he had been taken in by Cole.

Capt. James Hunter²³ of Erie, then an acting ensign on board the *Michigan*, tells the writer that Cole, who was introduced to him at the West House by an army officer, offered him the command of the schooner *Fremont* to take a cargo of oil to Liverpool, Hunter having been a salt water sailor, if he would leave the Government service, even taking him to look over the schooner. Cole so pursued Hunter with his attentions as to arouse the latter's suspicions, which assumed the form that he was a counterfeiter. On two occasions Cole sent cases of wine aboard the *Michigan*, once to an ensign from Oswego named Pavey, with whom he was especially intimate, and once to the wardroom officers generally. These attentions were magnified by the people ashore, and to this day Sandusky has traditions that he really did win over to his scheme some of the ship's people. One tale that was telegraphed to the New York papers, after the exposure, represents an engineer as having been induced to disable the steamer's machinery, and well-informed Sandusky people even yet believe that Cole was to give a dinner party aboard the *Michigan* on the night for which her capture was planned. Possibly some of these rumors of treachery or slack discipline reached naval officers elsewhere, for when, two months after the event about to be related, Lieut.-Com. Francis A. Roe succeeded "Jack" Carter in command of the *Michigan* he was much dissatisfied with the conditions he found aboard. Writing of those days thirty years later,²⁴ he professes gradually to have improved the discipline and

23. Capt. Hunter's account of his relations with Cole was given to the writer by word of mouth, but later, at the request of Commander Charles Baird, U. S. N., he put it in shape, with the assistance of John Miller of Erie, for publication in the *Erie Dispatch* of Feb. 19, 1905. Practically the same article was published in the *National Tribune* of Washington for June 29, 1905.

24. *United Service*, n. s., v. 6, pp. 544-52, December, 1891. In his article Admiral Roe commends the humanity of the Johnson's Island prison management and seems impressed with the idea that Buffalo was in considerable peril.

efficiency of the ship, although he does not hint that at any time he suspected officer or man of treachery.

As a matter of fact, the writer has found no evidence whatever for all these rumors, the "Official Records" are silent on the subject, and the survivors, who should know most about the matter, either scout at the stories or ignore them. It is true that Commander Carter got rid of Pavey before the plot was disclosed, but this was apparently in consequence of the ensign's too convivial habits. Despite Cole's boast of acquaintanceship with Carter, the latter²⁵ apparently never heard of Cole until the day he caused his arrest. The Michigan's commander rarely went ashore and was so far from being the kind of a man that could be won by Cole's bibulous diplomacy that, as Capt. Hunter says, he was more likely to contribute five dollars to some religious cause than to expend it in revelry. To Hunter himself Cole became decidedly offensive by his reflections on Carter because of Pavey's transfer to the coast, by his presuming manners when they were once thrown together on a railway journey, and especially by Cole's presentation of Hunter to the West House woman as Mrs. Cole. This conspirator's service at Sandusky to the Confederacy, large as it looms in the newspaper stories inspired by himself, seems actually to have been confined to the expenditure of a considerable portion of its revenue over the bar of the West House.

A man of very different character was John Yates Beall, whom Jacob Thompson fatuously put under the nominal command of Cole. His memoir has been written by his roommate at the University of Virginia, Judge Daniel B. Lucas²⁶ of West Virginia, by whom it was published anonymously at Montreal in 1865. Beall belonged to an old family in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia and owned one of the

25. John Wilson Murray, now chief detective under the Ontario Government, who was then an acting gunner on board the Michigan, is the subject of a book by Victor Speer of Buffalo ("Memoirs of a Great Detective," Baker & Taylor Co., 1904), in which it is related that by Carter's instruction Murray followed Cole about the country, in an endeavor to unravel his plot, and ultimately bore the leading part in his arrest. Not only are Murray's names and dates hopelessly astray, but Ensign Hunter, who actually arrested Cole, declares that Murray had nothing whatever to do with the matter. Furthermore, there

finest farms in that romantic region. He was an earnest, not to say fanatical young fellow with strong religious convictions, one of a type that is peculiarly dangerous in times of strife, because in such men all ordinary scruples are subjected to a stern sense of duty that knows not fear and rejects even reasonable precautions. One gets an idea of his seriousness from Judge Lucas's testimony that he never played a game of billiards in his life. He had seen some service as a private under Stonewall Jackson and, having been seriously wounded in October, 1861, had made his way north to Iowa, where he had a brother and where he had embarked in business as a miller in Cascade, Dubuque County, under the name of Yates. The discovery that he was a Confederate caused his departure for Canada in November, 1862, and he spent a couple of months in Dundas, Ont., going thence south by way of Cincinnati and Baltimore in January, 1863. His biographer thinks it was he who, during this visit to Richmond, "in conjunction with a gallant young officer of the Confederate army," first suggested to the authorities the scheme for releasing the prisoners on Johnson's Island and destroying the cities on the southern shores of the Great Lakes, for which Lieut. Murdaugh gets the credit in the "Official Records." The project having been temporarily laid aside, and Beall having been discharged from military service on account of his wound, he received a commission in the Confederate navy as an acting master and, with two small boats and a dozen men, he embarked in privateering operations on the lower Potomac and York rivers and Chesapeake Bay, cutting telegraph cables, destroying lighthouses, and capturing small trading vessels and fishing scows. One of the exploits of the party

seems to be no reason to believe that Cole was under any suspicion of being a Confederate agent until Commander Carter received the warning dispatches from Detroit given in the text.

26. Judge Lucas, who has been president of the West Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals, was in 1887 appointed to a vacancy in the United States Senate, but before the time came for him to take his seat the Legislature elected Charles J. Faulkner in his place. His memoir of Beall must have been prepared with much care, for the developments of forty years fail to show any serious inaccuracies of statement.

was the capture in September near Eastville, on the Eastern Shore of Virginia, of four schooners, one of which was loaded with sutler's stores.²⁷ Their depredations became so annoying that when in November a force of volunteers from the Eastern Shore of Maryland succeeded in taking Beall and fourteen men during one of their raids across Chesapeake Bay, the matter was considered of some importance, and the captors were commended for good conduct in general orders by authority of Gen. Schenck. As the prisoners were a partisan force, receiving no pay from the Confederacy but subsisting on what they captured from the enemy, they were taken to Fort McHenry in irons and so held for forty-two days, there being some talk of putting them on trial, either before a military commission or a civil jury of loyal Virginians. The Confederate Government, however, retaliated by confining in irons two officers and seventeen men of the Union navy, and the upshot was that Beall's men were placed on the footing of prisoners of war and ultimately exchanged, their leader reaching Richmond in May, 1864.

After a brief visit to his affianced wife in Columbus, Ga., refusing a lieutenantcy in the Secret Service, Beall participated as a volunteer in the fighting about Mechanicsville for some days, but soon became discouraged by the condition of his health and the neglect of his superiors. Leaving the camp on the Chickahominy, he crossed over from Matthews County, the chief scene of his former maritime exploits, to the Eastern Shore and made his way through Baltimore to Canada. August found him in Dundas again, and his diary says that he at once reported to Jacob Thompson in Toronto and asked for the command of a privateer on Lake Huron. Thompson told him of a plan to capture the Michigan and release the Johnson's Island prisoners, and Beall volunteered to participate. His diary says that he also went to Sandusky

27. For the Chesapeake Bay operations of Beall and Burley, see O. R., ser. 1, v. 29, pt. 1, pp. 139, 639; v. 33, pp. 231-2; v. 37, pt. 1, p. 72; ser. 2, v. 6, pp. 705, 825, 979. But Col. Draper's statement that Maxwell was killed when Burley was captured is incorrect, for Judge Lucas informs the writer that Maxwell occupied an official position under the Richmond municipal government in 1888, and the Judge presumes that he is still (1906) living.

and had a consultation with Cole, betaking himself thence to Windsor on the Detroit River. Jacob Thompson was staying in the same neighborhood.

IV. BURLEY, THE ADVENTURER.

Somewhere in Canada Beall had unexpectedly fallen in with Bennett G. Burley, whom he had known in his Chesapeake Bay privateering enterprises, and he was readily enlisted in the new undertaking, being a born adventurer, if ever one lived. As "Bennet Burleigh" he is now a war correspondent of world-wide fame, having been connected with the London *Telegraph* since 1882. He was present at Tel-el-Kebir in the first Egyptian war, with the French in Madagascar, accompanied the desert column from Korti to Metammah in 1884, participated in the Ashanti and Atbara expeditions, was at Omdurman, won fame in South Africa by securing a long interview with Gen. Joubert, and proved himself one of the most successful of newspaper correspondents in Manchuria during the Russo-Japanese war. An ardent Socialist, he has several times been a labor candidate in Glasgow for Parliament. So abstemious that he abjures tobacco and drinks nothing stronger than soda-water, wonderful tales are told of his powers of physical endurance even at his present age, such as that he has, after spending a day watching a battle, ridden sixty miles, written a long and brilliant dispatch, and got it first through. It is no wonder that forty years ago his feats of vigor attracted attention, especially when he had the telling of them himself, and we can be confident that they lost nothing of their picturesqueness in his narrative.

He was the son of a Glasgow master mechanic, and when he appeared in Richmond, although then but twenty-two, he had, according to the *Toronto Globe*,²⁸ already

²⁸. Quoted by the *Buffalo Courier*, Feb. 7, 1865, p. 2.

served in Italy both on the side of the Garibaldians and against them. He brought to the Confederacy the design for a torpedo which had to be attached to the side of the vessel attacked with screws and then be ignited by a fuse, and Judge Lucas says that Burley and another Scotchman, John Maxwell, actually did fasten such a contrivance to a Federal vessel, but the fuse would not burn. The torpedo was afterwards exhibited at the corner of Fulton and Nassau streets, New York. Burley received a commission as an acting master in the Confederate navy, and Judge Lucas says he was one of the earliest recruits secured by Beall for his privateering operations.

In March, 1864, a party of what might be described as veritable horse marines, for they were all cavalrymen except Burley and Maxwell and were commanded by a cavalry officer, Capt. Thaddeus Fitzhugh, performed the exploit of crossing Chesapeake Bay to Cherrystone, Northampton County, and capturing the entire guard there, a large supply of stores, two steamers and a schooner, besides inflicting other damage on the Union cause by cutting cables. But in May a small force of colored infantry under a sergeant, who were hunting for torpedoes near the mouth of the Rappahannock, killed four of the horse marines and captured Burley, on whose person was found a British protection and a pass authorizing him to go beyond the Confederate lines. As this seemed to furnish evidence that he was expected to act as a spy, over and above the irregularity of the service in which he was engaged, he was taken to Fort Delaware, forty miles below Philadelphia, whence he and a companion escaped through a drain, the water in which came up to the sleepers supporting the plank covering, so that they had to dive under the sleepers for the length of the drain, twenty-five yards, and then swim the river in the face of a swift tide. Six prisoners made the attempt in pairs, but Burley and his companion, whom he had to help, were the only ones to get away, the captain of a schooner which picked them up in mid-river

professing to accept their story that they had been captured while on a fishing excursion and taking them to Philadelphia. Two of the others were recaptured at the mouth of the drain, and two were drowned in the Delaware. Burley reached Canada in safety and doubtless told this story after the war was over to Judge Lucas, who prints it in his memoir of Beall.

Sunday evening, September 18, 1864, at Detroit, Burley stepped on board the *Philo Parsons*, a small steamer plying between Sandusky and Detroit, and asked the clerk, Walter O. Ashley, to stop the next day at Sandwich on the Canadian side of the river to take on board three friends of his, one of whom was lame and could not well cross the ferry. Ashley consented on condition that Burley should himself board the boat at Detroit. Monday morning, accordingly, Burley started with the boat from Detroit, and at Sandwich three men, one of whom was Beall, jumped on. Further down the river at Amherstburgh, which is also on the Canadian side, sixteen roughly dressed men, with an old trunk tied with a rope, came on board. These appeared to have no relations with the Beall and Burley party and were taken for returning Americans who had run away from the draft. At Middle Bass Island Capt. Atwood, the master of the *Parsons*, went ashore, his home being there, leaving the steamer in charge of the mate and of Ashley, who was a part owner.

At about 4 P. M., a landing having just been made at Kelly's Island, which is well within the United States line, being only about eleven miles from Sandusky, Beall interrupted a conversation he had been conducting with the mate at the wheel by drawing a pistol and telling that surprised person that as a Confederate officer he took possession of the steamer. At the same time three of the conspirators leveled their revolvers at Ashley, and Burley, coming aft with a number of others, ordered the clerk on pain of death to get into the cabin. Thither all the passengers, numbering some twenty-five, were also driven, two armed

guards stationing themselves at the door. The old trunk was brought out and opened, its contents proving to be hatchets and revolvers, with which the captors of the boat proceeded to equip themselves, while Burley partially cleared the deck by throwing overboard some freight consisting of iron and a sulky.

The mate, Nicholls, continued to keep the steamer on her course toward Sandusky, under the direction of Beall, and, as he afterward testified, at about five o'clock had reached a point from which they had a clear view into the harbor, where the Michigan was plainly visible. In the meantime he had been asked many questions about the warship and had said, in reply to an inquiry, that the Parsons did not have enough fuel on board to take her very far. He was therefore instructed to turn her about and head for Middle Bass Island, and while she was lying at the wharf there, taking on wood, Beall and Burley accompanied the clerk to his office and compelled him to give up the boat's papers and such money as he had on board, something like \$100, though they allowed him to keep certain papers which he claimed as personal property.

Presently appeared alongside a smaller steamer, the *Island Queen*, which ran between Sandusky and this group of islands, having on board a number of unarmed Federal soldiers on their way to Toledo to be mustered out. As she unsuspectingly moored to the Parsons some of Beall's men jumped on board and demanded her surrender. There was a discharge of pistols, and Henry Haines, the *Queen's* engineer, was shot in the face, the wound causing him so much annoyance in after years that he tried in vain to get a pension on account of it. Several persons were knocked down by blows from hatchets, one of which caused a profuse loss of blood, but this was the limit of physical injury inflicted. The people on board the *Queen* were stowed away, some in the cabin and some in the hold of the Parsons, but presently the passengers of both boats were sent ashore, as were most of the two crews, a few men

being retained to handle the Parsons. The Union soldiers were paroled not to bear arms against the Southern Confederacy until duly exchanged, and the civilians were required to promise that they would say nothing of what had happened for twenty-four hours. Then the two steamers, lashed abreast, got under way; but when about five miles from the island the *Queen* was scuttled and set adrift, sinking on Chickanolee Reef.

The Parsons proceeded a part of the way toward Sandusky, but there was anxiety on board over the failure to receive an expected message or signal from Cole. Judge Lucas, who probably got his information from Burley, intimates that a rocket was to have been sent up from Johnson's Island. The Sandusky people tell of some intended signal from the cupola of the West House, which stands only a few rods from the bay. But the most reasonable version is that given in the report of the affair by Jacob Thompson to Secretary Benjamin,²⁹ according to which Cole was to have had a messenger meet Beall at Kelly's Island with directions as to further movements. The later investigations of Gen. Dix indicated that four men, one of whom had been pretending to sell sewing machines on Kelly's Island, did join the conspirators when the Parsons touched there, but evidently the desired message did not come, for Beall's followers lost faith in their power to capture with hatchets and pistols even so feeble a man-of-war as the *Michigan*, all except Burley and two others refusing to carry the enterprise any further. Judge Lucas represents Beall as furious over this mutiny, as he regarded it, and as insisting, when he found his followers were not to be moved by argument, expostulation, or threat, that they should put their resolution into writing as a proof of their own insubordination and as a vindication of himself.

29. O. R., ser. 1, v. 43, pt. 2, pp. 930-6. Reprinted in O. R. (N), ser. 1, v. 3, p. 714. Thompson's letter is dated Toronto, Dec. 3, 1864. It is preceded (p. 914) by an unsigned letter from St. Catharines, dated November 1st, probably by his colleague, C. C. Clay, which, however, adds only misinformation regarding the raid. Gen. Dix says Thompson was at Col. Steele's house near Sandwich so late as September 17th.

Accordingly the following³⁰ was drawn up on the back of a bill of lading and signed by those whose names are appended:

ON BOARD THE PHILO PARSONS,
September 20, 1864.

We the undersigned, crew of the boat aforesaid, take pleasure in expressing our admiration of the gentlemanly bearing, skill, and courage of Captain John Y. Beall as a commanding officer and a gentleman, but believing and being well convinced that the enemy is already apprised of our approach, and is so well prepared that we cannot by any possibility make it a success, and having already captured two boats, we respectfully decline to prosecute it any further.

J. S. RILEY, M. D.,
H. B. BARKLEY,
R. F. SMITH,
DAVID H. ROSS,
R. B. DRAKE,
JAMES BROTHERTON,
M. H. DUNCAN,
W. B. KING,

WM. BYLAND,
ROBERT G. HARRIS,
W. C. HOLT,
TOM S. MAJOR,
N. S. JOHNSTON,
JOHN BRISTOL,
F. H. THOMAS,
J. G. ODOER,

JOSEPH Y. CLARK.

With great reluctance on the part of Beall, who, Judge Lucas says, maintained during the short remainder of his life that the plot would have succeeded but for what he styled the cowardice of the mutineers, the prow of the Parsons was turned in the direction of the Detroit River, and the frightened people of the islands, who were out burying their valuables, saw her rushing past in the darkness "like a scared pickerel."³¹ An incident of the journey

30. Given in Thomas H. Hines's account of "The Northwestern Conspiracy," *Southern Bivouac*, v. 2, p. 700, April, 1887.

31. In her account of the raid, *Harper's Magazine*, v. 47, p. 32, June, 1873, Constance F. Woolson quotes this phrase as if used at the time. She says the raiders asked Capt. Orr of the Island Queen if many strangers had come to Sandusky that morning, and if there was any excitement there. This apparently refers to the force that Cole was expected but evidently failed to collect. The passengers are quoted as being favorably impressed by Beall, but as describing Burley as a "perfect desperado" in appearance. But in a note to the writer Judge Henry B. Brown says of Burley: "I was quite taken with him when I had him in the House of Correction at Detroit and was rather glad when he finally escaped." This agrees with the impression he created when in custody at Port Clinton, as will be seen later on. There was, however, a wide difference in the point of view.

was the partial hoisting by the mate, under compulsion, of a Confederate flag for doubtless the first and last time on a vessel plying the waters of Lake Erie. When the Parsons entered the mouth of the Detroit River it was intimated that some vessels near by would have been boarded, had not the party reached Canadian waters, and there was some talk of going ashore and burning the house on Grosse Isle of a Detroit banker named Ives. A small boat laden with plunder from the Parsons was sent ashore about three miles above Malden (Amherstburgh), and at Fighting Island, about 8 o'clock Tuesday morning, most of the prisoners still detained aboard, including Capt. Orr of the Queen and Mate Nichols of the Parsons, were landed. At Sandwich the steamer tied up, and a pianoforte, mirrors, chairs, trunks, and bedclothes having been put ashore, and the engineer having been compelled to cut the injection pipe, so that the boat would sink, she was abandoned, and the raiders disappeared. Two who were arrested by the Canadian authorities were discharged by justices of the peace after a detention of a couple of hours, though the customs officials were sufficiently vigilant to seize some of the American property that had been landed, on the ground that it had paid no duty. The damage to the Parsons was estimated at \$6,000, and that to the Queen at \$3,000, but both boats were running again in about a week. The Parsons, however, made no more landings on the Canadian side and naturally carried few passengers during the remainder of the season.

V. THE WELCOME AWAITING THEM.

Just how Beall purposed to carry the Michigan has never been satisfactorily cleared up. To approach her the Parsons would have had to take a course so different from that she usually followed in entering Sandusky Bay as to have aroused suspicion on the warship, which lay off

the island for the very purpose of guarding against an attack of this character. One of the first things she had done on her arrival was to take the bearings of the channel entrance so as to get the exact elevation and range for her fifteen guns, which consisted of a 68-pounder smooth bore Paxton mounted forward on a pivot, six 30-pounder rifled Parrotts forward on the spar deck, six 25-pounder Dahlgrens aft on the quarter deck, and two 12-pounder howitzers on the hurricane deck. Even if Cole had succeeded in his plan of getting some of the officers ashore for a carouse and of drugging them, there still would have been left on board Capt. Carter himself and two of the three line officers,³² for only one was allowed off duty at a time. Capt. Hunter has an ingenious theory that it was intended to set fire to the Parsons when she reached the entrance to Sandusky Bay. The Michigan would of course have sent boats to rescue the supposed passengers, and these Beall's men could have captured and with them have surprised the warship. Capt. Hunter even says that the Parsons had in her cargo twenty-five barrels of coal tar, which he learned about when the affair was investigated by a federal grand jury of Cleveland a month later. The writer has failed to find any reference to the tar in contemporary writings on either side, but according to a story told a reporter by a watchman on board the Parsons, the latter prepared under Beall's directions three combustible balls out of bagging, grease, and camphene, and when Gen. Dix examined the steamboat a week after the raid these or something similar were shown to him, but he supposed they were intended for use in burning either the house of Banker Ives or the Parsons herself when she was abandoned at Sandwich.

But there is no sort of doubt concerning the nature of the reception which Beall actually would have met. All night the Michigan had lain cleared for action—her guns shotted, steam on the engine, anchor hove short, officers and

32. At one time a tug, the Gen. Burnside, manned by a crew from the Michigan, did patrol duty in Sandusky Bay; whether she was in service in September, 1864, does not appear.

men at quarters, and all hands straining their eyes to catch a glimpse through the darkness of the rebel Parsons. Saturday, two days before Beall boarded the Parsons, Lieut.-Col. Bennett H. Hill, commanding the district of Michigan, had been called on at Detroit by a man purporting to be a Confederate refugee in Canada, who gave him such information that he sent the following dispatch ³³ to the Michigan's commander:

DETROIT, Sept. 17, 1864.

CAPT. J. C. CARTER:

It is reported to me that some of the officers and men of your steamer have been tampered with, and that a party of rebel refugees leave Windsor tomorrow with the expectation of getting possession of your steamer.

B. H. HILL,

Lieutenant-Colonel, U. S. Army, Military Commander.

Possibly Hill's informant can be identified with one Smith, a former Confederate who kept a hotel in Windsor frequented by rebel refugees and who, according to Edward A. Sowles's history of the St. Albans raid, on other occasions contributed information to Federal officials. Whoever he was, he visited Hill again Sunday with such further statements as to enable him to telegraph Monday:

DETROIT, Sept. 19, 1864.

CAPT. J. C. CARTER, U. S. NAVY:

It is said the parties will embark today at Malden on board the Philo Parsons, and will seize either that steamer or another running from Kelly's Island. Since my last dispatch am again assured that officers and men have been bought by a man named Cole; a few men to be introduced on board under guise of friends of officers; an officer named Eddy to be drugged. Both Commodore Gardner and myself look upon the matter as serious.

B. H. HILL,

Lieut.-Col., U. S. Army, Acting Assistant Provost-Marshal General.

Hill visited the Parsons early Monday morning and, after mature consideration, decided to let the plot proceed, if there were any plot, in order to capture the conspirators, rather than to frighten them off by putting an armed force

33. O. R., ser. 2, v. 7, p. 842.

aboard the steamer. While this course was not unnatural, in view of the frequent false alarms to which the Federal authorities were subjected, it must be admitted that it might have caused the unnecessary sacrifice of innocent lives. Upon receiving Hill's first message Carter had telegraphed in reply on Sunday that he was ready, but that the suggestion of treachery on board the Michigan must be unfounded. It was doubtless on the receipt of the second dispatch that Carter sent for Hunter, as the latter now recalls that eventful day, and told him that he was to be sent to Detroit. Hunter, being an old lake mariner, and having many acquaintances at the Canadian ports, had on previous occasions been detailed to watch the maneuvers of rebel refugees, and his commander must have had some design of this sort in his mind, but while Hunter was eating his dinner Capt. Carter adopted a different plan. He again sent for Hunter, showed him the dispatch, and asked him about the loyalty of the officers and men. The ensign vouched for them all except one steward, whom he suspected of eavesdropping. In reply to an inquiry indicating that Carter had never heard of Cole before, Hunter told him what he knew of that worthy, and after going ashore and arranging with Col. Hill to send a force to the railroad station to arrest any conspirators that might arrive by train, Capt. Carter instructed Ensign Hunter to arrest Cole in such a manner as to avoid alarming any accomplices he might have in Sandusky. Just before Hunter left the Michigan with the barge on this errand a steward who had been ashore that morning told him that Cole wanted to see him. On reaching the shore Hunter had the barge's bow turned towards the lake and, contrary to custom, instructed her crew to remain by her, at the same time telling the coxswain, Peter Turley, to follow him and be ready on a signal to come to his assistance.

Cole was found in one of the parlors of the West House with the woman, their trunk packed and bill paid in preparation for departure. He told Hunter that he wanted three

of the Michigan's officers, himself included, to participate in a dinner party that night at the Seven Mile House, a suburban resort. There were to be girls in the party. Hunter begged off on the false pretense that he was to be on duty, but on second thought suggested that Cole should go on board with him and see if he could get leave. Hunter was invited to take a drink out of the ever-ready demijohn, but mindful of what the dispatch had said of drugging his fellow ensign, Eddy, the officer made the excuse for not swallowing his whisky that his mouth was full of tobacco; but after seeing Cole himself drink, and making sure there was no pretense about it, he followed his example. Then he accompanied Cole to a bank, where the latter drew out \$900 in gold, Coxswain Turley following in their wake and dodging from lamp post to lamp post. After a return to the hotel and more drinks in the company of an army officer, Hunter took his man by the arm and walked in a friendly way to the wharf where lay the barge, on reaching which he gave Cole a vigorous push that tumbled him into the boat, Hunter and the coxswain following immediately, the former shouting an order to "Give way."

Cole, who had no notion of risking his neck aboard the Michigan, protested vigorously and insisted on being put ashore, but Hunter told him he was a prisoner, which Cole would not believe, or pretended he would not, and offered to treat the boat's crew, counting up the eleven of them and remarking that it would take a whole gallon of whisky. To this Coxswain Turley, who had no business to say anything, replied: "You have not money enough in your pocket to treat us today," whereupon the prisoner seemed to lose the courage which had hitherto supported him.

On reaching the ship Cole was taken to the Commander's cabin, where he offered to explain everything in five minutes in private, but Capt. Carter refused to permit Hunter to go away, instructing him to search the prisoner while he covered him with Cole's own revolver. Among the papers found was Cole's commission as a major in a Tennessee

regiment. On the strength of other papers found on him, as Hunter says, or of his admissions, as the "Official Records" have it, several supposed accomplices in Sandusky were also arrested. A young fellow named Robinson, who was little better than half witted, was detained with Cole until long after the war closed; of the others, Dr. Stanley; Strain, a hardware merchant; Williams, his former partner, and one Brown were released in a few days, and if they had any criminal secret they carried it to their graves, but the belief in Sandusky seems to be that they were guilty of nothing worse than an imprudently expressed sympathy with the South. The remaining two, J. B. Merrick and Lewis Rosenthal, were tried on a charge of conspiracy in June, 1865, before a United States court in Cleveland, the principal witnesses against them being Cole, Robinson, and the woman who had lived with Cole at the West House, but the evidence of this precious trio was so lightly regarded that they were acquitted.³⁴ It is said in Sandusky that it was afterwards discovered that Rosenthal, who was a Jewish clothier, had come thither from Richmond.

The arrest of Cole was effected about 3 P. M., and while it was in progress Acting Master Martin, the executive officer of the Michigan, had by Capt. Carter's command got the ship ready for action. All night a keen watch was kept for the Parsons, but nothing was seen of her, which is inexplicable in view of the testimony of her mate that those on board at one time caught a glimpse of the Michigan. At daylight the latter got under way and began a search for the "pirate." At Kelly's Island, where she touched, the people had been so thoroughly frightened by the events of Monday that none of them showed themselves, and there was nobody to take the Michigan's line until the huge form of her pilot³⁵ was recognized, and the people on shore were

34. The Cleveland papers of June 14-16, 1865, contain the only information concerning the trial of Merrick and Rosenthal that the writer has been able to find.

35. His name was William Hinton, and Capt. Hunter says he weighed nearly 300 pounds and had a voice in proportion to his bulk. He was pilot of the Michigan for over twenty years and was widely known on the Great Lakes.

thus assured that she was still in the hands of her rightful crew. The islanders³⁶ could give no information regarding the Parsons, and the Michigan continued her way northward, picking up in rowboats Ashley, the clerk, and a son of John Brown of Ossawatimie, both of whom were on their way to Sandusky to give the alarm. At the mouth of the Detroit River nothing could be learned from vessels which had just come down, and Capt. Carter called a consultation of officers in his cabin, at which Hunter expressed the opinion that they had left without authority the island which it was their duty to guard and had better go back to their station at once. Capt. Carter accepted this view, and the Michigan proceeded toward Sandusky, catching a sight on the way of the sunken Island Queen on Chickenolee Reef. It was with a feeling of much relief that as the Michigan entered the bay at about 3 P. M. her officers saw the stars and stripes still waving over Johnson's Island.³⁷ On the arrival of Gen. Dix, commanding the Department of the East, a few days later, Cole was sent ashore to the

In a history of the Michigan read before the Erie County (Pa.) Historical Society March 7, 1905, by Captain William B. Brooks, U. S. N., and imperfectly printed in the *Erie Dispatch* of March 12, 1905, reference is made to the participation of Hinton in the arrest of James J. Strang, the Mormon king of Beaver Island, in 1853. Capt. Brooks is one of the two surviving officers of the Michigan when she carried Strang to Detroit.

36. Mrs. Francis C. Clark of Pacific Grove, Monterey Co., Cal., was living on South Bass Island at the time and describes the fright of the people as extreme, in a letter to Capt. Hunter. A young man came to her father's house about ten in the evening, exclaiming: "Oh, Doctor, come quick; my mother is in spasms. The rebs have captured the Parsons and the Queen, and there is no knowing how many are on the island." She admits being frightened herself, although she could not believe there were any Confederates on South Bass, knowing that they had more important business elsewhere. Her husband was one of the party that started with Capt. John Brown, Jr., for Johnson's Island to give the alarm. She afterwards saw Cole in custody on Johnson's Island and has always wondered why he was not hanged.

37. Col. Charles W. Hill reported to the Washington authorities that the Michigan went out at daylight and returned about 3, adding, "I have one thirty and six twenty-pounder Parrotts and three twelve-pounder howitzers on the island, and a six-gun light battery, New York, at Sandusky, and by calling in my fatigue parties, extra duty men, and recruits, could have a force of near 900 available men on the island as infantry and heavy artillery."—O. R., ser. 1, v. 39, pt. 2, p. 428.

island, where for a time he was kept in a tent by himself under guard.

The remainder of his story is soon told. At the end of the month he was taken to Cleveland, with Robinson, who is supposed to have been the messenger through whom he communicated with the Canadian plotters, to be examined before a grand jury. Hunter and others told their story to the authorities, but no indictment seems to have been framed, presumably from lack of other evidence than Cole's own, which was worthless even against himself. In the summer of 1865 a representative of the national Department of Justice investigated his case and made a report³⁸ thereon, the gist of which was that he was clearly guilty of several offenses, the least of which was a breach of his parole, but that it would be difficult to convict him of a share in the Confederate plot. In consequence he was transferred to Fort Lafayette, where Major Stiles had the misfortune to be lodged in the same casemate with him and to witness his coaching of the half imbecile Robinson as to the lies the latter should tell when their cases came to trial.³⁹ The Major had been on Johnson's Island with Cole and had the strongest aversion to him. In fact, he says that a greater scoundrel and reprobate never went unhung, and he would have remonstrated against being confined with him, had not Robinson, who was in mortal terror of Cole, literally on his knees besought the Major not to leave him alone with that man. In February, 1866, Cole was released⁴⁰ on habeas corpus proceedings by a Brooklyn judge, and he thenceforth fades out of history, except that in the Philadelphia *Press* article to which reference has been made he is represented as having served under Maximilian in Mexico and as having later become a railroad promoter in Texas; but Galveston newspaper people, of whom inquiry was made, never heard of him, and the *Press* article, being professedly based on Cole's own statements, is entitled to no credit when unconfirmed by other evidence.

38. O. R., ser. 2, v. 8, p. 708.

39. Communication from the late Maj. Stiles to the writer.

40. O. R., ser. 2, v. 8, p. 881.

VI. THE DOOM OF BEALL.

A far more tragic fate was that of Beall. His movements after the Lake Erie affair cannot be followed closely, but in December he participated in repeated attempts to wreck passenger trains on the Lake Shore Railroad just outside of Buffalo. These exploits were conducted by Col. Martin of the Fourteenth Kentucky Cavalry, the organizer of the conspiracy to burn New York City, and it was afterwards asserted that the real object was the liberation of Gens. Cabell and Marmaduke and other prominent Confederate prisoners who were on their way from Johnson's Island to Fort Warren in Boston Harbor, which might be accepted as plausible but for the fact that three separate attempts were made on the evenings of December 10th, 11th, and 15th. The purpose probably in view was the robbery of the express car, and it is only fair, when Beall's general character is taken into consideration, to presume that he was endeavoring to procure the means to undertake other enterprises similar to that against the Michigan, and that his own enrichment formed no part of his plan.

Beall was arrested on the evening of December 16th in the railroad station at Suspension Bridge, on his way back from Buffalo to Canada, in company with George S. Anderson, a young Confederate soldier, a native of Pittsylvania County, Va., who had been Col. Martin's courier in Morgan's cavalry, and who ultimately turned state's evidence against Beall, although, according to Judge Lucas, it was in consequence of Beall's solicitude in Anderson's behalf that the arrest took place, the other members of the party having at Beall's suggestion walked across the bridge in safety, while he himself waited with Anderson for a train. All that the raiders had accomplished had been to place across the track five or six miles west of Buffalo a rail which the train had struck without injury. When arrested Beall and Anderson were supposed to be merely escaped Confederate prisoners and were so described in the newspapers, but the former was speedily identified.

A rather touching story about this identification is told in Sandusky, which, however, does not appear in the official account of Beall's trial. It seems that there had been among the passengers of the Philo Parsons a woman with a sick child in her arms, who, when the other passengers were ordered into the cabin or hold, pleaded so piteously with Beall that her baby would die if not permitted to remain out on deck, where it could inhale fresh air, that he yielded to her entreaties. When taken to New York, where Beall was confined and ushered into his presence, this woman began to thank him profusely for his consideration on that occasion. It was in vain that poor Beall protested that she was mistaken and that she had never before in her life seen him. The woman insisted on expressing her gratitude until Beall gave up the point and asked after the child's health. The woman need not have suffered any distress from the thought that she had unwittingly contributed to her benefactor's doom, for without her evidence the identification of the prisoner was complete.

He was brought to trial before a military commission February 1, 1865, on charges of violation of the laws of war and of acting as a spy. The commission, which held its sessions at Fort Lafayette, consisted of Brigadier-Gens. Fitz Henry Warren and W. H. Morris, Cols. M. S. Howe and H. Day, Lieut.-Col. R. F. O'Bierne, and Maj. G. W. Wallace, with Maj. John A. Bolles acting as Judge Advocate. James T. Brady, one of the most eminent lawyers in New York, volunteered to act as the prisoner's counsel. The various specifications charged Beall with seizing the Philo Parsons, with carrying on warfare as a guerilla, and with acting as a spy in Ohio and New York, and on February 8th he was convicted on all of them except one, which charged him with acting as a spy at Suspension Bridge, his punishment being fixed at death by hanging. Powerful efforts were made by Northern friends of Beall to save his life, and if Gen. Dix could have been induced to recommend a mitigation of the penalty, President Lincoln would

have granted it. Gen. Roger A. Pryor, who had been confined at Fort Lafayette with Beall and to whom Beall bequeathed his diary, was now at liberty and secured an interview with the President in order to intercede for the condemned man. Mrs. Pryor's "Reminiscences of Peace and War," says: "Although Mr. Lincoln evinced the sincerest compassion for the young man, and an extreme aversion to his death, he felt constrained to yield to the assurance of Gen. Dix, in a telegram just received, that the execution was indispensable to the security of the Northern cities—it being believed, though erroneously, that Capt. Beall was implicated in the burning of the New York hotels." Judge Lucas says that the President's response to all applications from the first was: "Gen. Dix may dispose of the case as he pleases—I will not interfere." The opinion has since been expressed that the Lake Erie offense might have been overlooked, but that the attempt at train wrecking put the offender beyond the reach of mercy. The Rev. Dr. Henry J. Van Dyke of Brooklyn, father of the present Rev. Dr. Henry J. Van Dyke, visited Beall in his cell at Fort Columbus the day before his execution and wrote a letter to a Southern friend in which he described his bearing with the highest sort of praise and even called him a martyr.⁴¹ Beall was hanged on Governor's Island, February 24th, a respite from the 18th having been granted to enable his mother to come North and visit him, as was stated at the time, though Judge Lucas says the real reason for the delay was to permit the commission which tried him to amend its finding on some disputed point. But whatever the purpose, the postponement did allow a final interview with his mother. Beall met his fate manfully and in a way that increased the respect already felt for him by his custodians. It is a curious fact that the gallows used on this occasion was that on which Gordon, the only man ever hanged for being a slaver, had suffered. Once in awhile a story goes the rounds of the newspapers connecting the assassination of Lincoln with Beall's execution, and a Phila-

41. *Southern Bivouac*, v. 2, p. 701, April, 1887.

delphia auctioneer is quoted as professing to own documents which prove that Booth was impelled to his act by his friendship for Beall and a desire to avenge him. Beall's friends scout the whole story. Judge Lucas does not believe that Beall ever saw Booth and remarks that there was no similarity of conduct between the two, Beall having no fancy for the sports that attracted Booth, while there is not the slightest evidence that they were in Canada at the same time.⁴² Beall was buried in Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn.

VII. BURLEY'S EXTRADITION.

After the Philo Parsons affair Burley returned to Guelph, where he had previously stayed and where, Judge Lucas says, he attracted attention to himself by some experiments in ordnance or gunnery. This may be a delicate euphuism for Greek fire, for the "Official Records" of the Rebellion contain a letter written by him at this time, making inquiry concerning the use of this incendiary material.⁴³ At the instance of the United States authorities he was arrested and taken before the Recorder of Toronto for examination on the question of his extradition. There had been considerable deliberation on the part of the Federal officials as to the charge which they should bring against Burley. They hesitated to accuse him of piracy,⁴⁴ because some high Brit-

42. Communication from Judge Lucas to the writer.

43. O. R. (N), ser. 1, v. 3, p. 496.

44. The obstacles to charging Burley with piracy were appreciated at once and are noted by Gen. Dix in O. R., ser. 1, v. 43, pt. 2, p. 230. Not only were the English authorities opposed to the view that the Great Lakes formed a part of the high seas, but the earlier decisions of our own courts were on the same line. In March, 1867, Judge Ross Wilkins regretfully discharged, for lack of jurisdiction by a federal court, Henry Miller, who had been convicted of wilfully procuring the setting on fire of the passenger steamer *Morning Star*, plying between Cleveland and Detroit. But in 1893 the question of the criminal jurisdiction of the federal courts over the Great Lakes came squarely before the United States Supreme Court. Robert S. Rodgers and others had been indicted for assaulting with a deadly weapon one James Downs on board

ish authorities were pledged to the opinion that Lake Erie was not a sea and were unwilling to admit that piracy could be committed on its waters. While the Attorney-General thought, with some hesitation, that Burley's extradition as a pirate might be asked, he advised that the charge should be robbery and assault with intent to commit murder. A twenty-dollar greenback, which was among the bills taken from Ashley by Beall and Burley, was selected upon which to base the accusation, most of the work of representing the United States falling to Henry B. Brown, then Assistant-Attorney for the Michigan District, now one of the Justices of the United States Supreme Court, who says of the matter:⁴⁵ "I had a very lively time with him (Burley) in Toronto, which was filled with rebels, and for a time it looked as though I should fail to get my man." Burley's chief defense was his commission⁴⁶ as an acting master in the Confederate navy signed at Richmond, Sep-

the American excursion steamer *Alaska* while in Canadian waters in August, 1887. In this matter (*U. S. vs. Rodgers*, U. S., 150, sometimes absurdly called the "Alaska piracy case") it was decided that the United States courts had jurisdiction, although, to the lay mind at least, the minority opinion of Judges Brown and Gray, that the Great Lakes were not a part of the high seas because not open to the commerce of the world, seems the more convincing. Between the rise of this case and its final decision, however, Congress had passed, at the instance of Senator McMillan, it is said, and probably as a result of the Rodgers case, the law of Sept. 4, 1890, providing for the punishment by the federal courts of crimes committed anywhere upon the Great Lakes.

45. Communication from Judge Brown to the writer.

46. It is a question even if this commission had not been antedated. William Armstrong, civil engineer and artist, of Toronto, tells the writer: "I taught one of the Southern officers photography, and an important message was required to be sent to J. Davis. I suggested the reducing of the message by photography on mica, which plan was adopted. I printed in large letters on a flat paper the message and reduced it to the size of five buttons. The negatives were then placed under the usual covering of buttons by Mr. Walker, tailor of King Street. The messenger wore the coat and got through to J. Davis. Another message was sent written in the lining of a carpet bag, and when the messenger reached the Southern lines he was told he need not proceed, as the man with the buttons had gone ahead. I (afterwards) met J. Davis at a dinner given by the artillery officers in his honor, and after mess I asked him if he remembered the button message, and he seemed much pleased to meet the author of it. No one in Toronto except Mr. Walker knew anything about the matter. As well as I can remember, the purport of the message on the buttons was to get Burley's commission antedated so as to cover the P. Parsons escapade."

tember 11, 1863, on which there was an endorsement dated Richmond, December 22, 1864, in the form of a proclamation by President Davis, declaring that the Parsons enterprise was a belligerent expedition ordered and undertaken under the authority of the Confederate government and for which that government assumed responsibility.

On January 20th Recorder Duggan committed Burley for surrender, holding that his acts, being against a non-combatant and involving a violation of neutral territory, were not acts of lawful war. A writ of habeas corpus having been granted by Justice Hagarty, there was an extended hearing before Chief Justice Draper of the Queen's Bench, with whom sat Chief Justice Richards of the Common Pleas and Justices Hagarty and John Wilson. Their unanimous decision remanding the prisoner for extradition is treated at considerable length in the books on the law of extradition and is given in full in the *Upper Canada Law Journal* (New Series, Vol. 1). In brief, Judge Draper held that, even if Burley had the sanction of the Confederate authorities, President Davis's manifesto forbade any violation of neutral territory, and that Burley's acts established a *prima facie* case of robbery, the matters alleged in his defense being proper to be submitted to a jury in the jurisdiction where the offense was committed. Judge Wilson said that there was an obvious distinction between an order to do a belligerent act and the recognition and avowal of such an act after it had been done. One was an act of war, and the other was not. "For us judicially to give effect to the avowal and adoption of this act would be to recognize the existence of the nationality of the Confederate States, which at present our government refuses to recognize." Judge Richards, noting that the charge upon which Burley had been arrested was one of robbery and that the warrant of commitment before the court was for this crime, said: "When surrendered I apprehend that the United States government would, in good faith, be bound to try him for the offense upon which he is surrendered."

In view of this last statement and of the anxiety of Burley's father lest his son should be tried in the United States on a charge of piracy, the following passage from Sir Edward Clark's "Treatise upon the Law of Extradition" possesses special interest: "The minutes of the evidence taken in 1868 by the select committee of the House of Commons contain a very singular statement with regard to this case, made by the Right Hon. Edmund Hammond,"⁴⁷ the permanent Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. He said: 'It was suggested that the American Government contemplated putting him on his trial for piracy, which, however, did not prove to have been the case; but he seems to have been charged in the United States, though not with us, before the Canadian authorities, with assault with intent to commit murder. The question was referred to the law officers of this country, and it was held that, if the United States put him *bona fide* on his trial for the offense in respect of which he was given up, it would be difficult to question their right to put him upon his trial also for piracy, or any other offense which he might be accused of committing within their territory, whether or not such offense was a ground of extradition or even within the treaty.' " Eleven years later the officials of the British Foreign Office found it necessary to wriggle out of this remarkable concession the best way they could; but we are chiefly concerned here with the evidence that our State Department had so persisted in the assumption that Burley's offense was assault with intent to commit murder that by 1868 the British Government had begun to believe that he had actually been

47. Afterwards Baron Hammond of Kirk Ella, Kingston-upon-Hull. He was a son of the first British Minister to the United States and was for fifty years connected with the Foreign Office. The whole matter of Burley's extradition was threshed over at length in the House of Lords in 1876 in the discussion of the British refusal to give up Winslow. Lord Hammond took part in the debate, and summaries of the speeches made by him, Lord Derby, and others, as well as what seems to be the entire Burley correspondence between the British and American governments, will be found in "Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States," 1876, p. 261 *et seq.* The earlier communications are here reprinted from "Diplomatic Correspondence," for 1864 and 1865, v. 2 in each case.

tried on such a charge. This was not the case, although in 1876, in the controversy over the Winslow extradition matter, Secretary Fish assured them: "In the case of Burley, extradited from Canada on a charge of robbery, the prisoner was tried on assault with intent to kill." Neither is the statement true which Prof. John Bassett Moore quotes in his work on "Extradition and Interstate Rendition," from a British parliamentary document, that when the Burley jury disagreed he "was released on small bail, left, and did not reappear."

While it is a fact that in demanding the extradition of Burley in November, 1864, Secretary Seward had referred to him as "charged with the crimes of piracy, robbery, and assault with intent to commit murder," he was arrested and extradited on a simple charge of robbery, as has already been shown. Moreover, when he was given up, February 5, 1865, Lord Monck notified the home government that in the warrant for his delivery the accused was "charged with having committed robbery within the jurisdiction of the United States." Burley was detained in the Detroit House of Correction for some time, while the authorities were considering what steps should be taken in his case. His father, fearing that a trial for piracy would ensue, sought to enlist the good offices of the English Government in his son's behalf, with the result that the decision in the matter already noted was reached and was communicated by Lord John Russell to the British representative in Washington, J. Hume Burnley. Instead of informing Secretary Seward of the true position of his Government conceding the right to try the offender on a charge of piracy, Mr. Burnley wrote to the Secretary of State that the British Government, in connection with the proper law advisers of the crown, having had the matter under consideration, were of the opinion that if the United States, having obtained the extradition on the charge of robbery, did not put Burley on trial on this charge, but upon another, viz.: piracy, this would be a breach of good faith, against which

Her Majesty's Government might justly remonstrate. He added truthfully that he was instructed to protest against any attempt to change the grounds of accusation upon which Burley was surrendered. To this Secretary Seward responded under date of March 20th :

"The Hon. the Attorney-General informs me that it is his purpose to bring the offender to trial in the courts of the states of Ohio and Michigan for the crimes committed by him against the municipal laws of those states; namely, robbery and assault with intent to commit murder. He was delivered by the Canadian authorities upon a requisition which was based upon charges of those crimes, and also upon a charge of piracy, which is triable not by states courts, but by the courts of the United States. I am not prepared to admit the principle claimed in the protest of Her Majesty's Government; namely, that the offender could not lawfully be tried for the crime of piracy under the circumstances of the case. Nevertheless, the question raised upon it has become an abstraction, as it is at present the purpose of the Government to bring him to trial for the crimes against municipal law only."

It was finally decided that Burley should be tried in Port Clinton, the capital of Ottawa County, Ohio, which includes the waters where his offense was committed. Monday, July 10, 1865, he was brought from Detroit on the Philo Parsons to Sandusky Bay, where Sheriff James Latimore, who still lives to tell the story, met him with a smaller steamer and took him to the Port Clinton jail. The journal of the Common Pleas Court shows that at the June term the grand jury had reported an indictment for robbery against him. A week later he was brought to trial before Judge John Fitch of Toledo, the evidence seemingly being chiefly confined to the circumstances under which Beall and Burley presented revolvers at Ashley and forced him to give up what money he had in his possession. According to the Toledo *Blade* of July 18th, Judge Fitch charged the jury that the prisoner and other persons connected with him in the capture of the boat, acting for and under orders from the Confederate Government, would not be amenable to our civil tribunals for the offense, but that

the taking of the money from the clerk of the boat might or might not belong to and form a part of the expedition. If the parties who took the money intended to take and appropriate it to their own private use, and did not take it for the Confederate Government, and as a part of the military expedition, then the prisoner would be guilty of the offense; but in carrying out the expedition the parties had the same right, in a military point of view, to take other articles of property, or even money, that they had to take the boat. The jury disagreed, standing, according to the sheriff's recollection, six to six, though another tradition is that the vote was eight to four in favor of conviction. Doubtless, the fact that the war was over had much to do with the difference between the fate of Beall and that of Burley. In lack of \$3,000 bail the latter was taken back to the Port Clinton jail with the expectation that he would be tried again at the October term.

The jail was a very inadequate structure for its purpose, for outsiders could easily communicate with the inmates without the knowledge of their custodians. On one occasion the sheriff's wife, as she was leaving the residence part of the jail, caught a glimpse of two young women who were talking with Burley through his window, and although they departed too quickly to be recognized, one of them was afterward identified by a letter found in the jail. Burley also succeeded in getting possession of an extra table knife which he turned into a fine saw. He made many friends in Port Clinton who used to pass his mail through the window to him without submitting it to the sheriff for examination, and indeed Sheriff Lattimore found his prisoner such an agreeable companion that he sometimes took him down street with him. One Sunday noon in September the sheriff, taking with him his wife, his man servant, and his maid servant, drove into the country to inspect his farm and visit his brother, leaving Burley, who was the only prisoner, alone in the jail. In the evening he sent the two servants to town to do the chores and feed the

prisoner, but when they reached the jail they found the door open and Burley gone. He had procured a key, which let him into the sheriff's residence, from which he had escaped by a window. That he had help from outside was proved by the fact that the window was propped open by a limb from a tree that stood near. The sheriff expended about \$100 in vain efforts to secure his recapture, but the people generally were well satisfied with the outcome, especially the County Commissioners, since they despaired of a conviction and begrudged the expense of Burley's maintenance and the cost of a second trial.⁴⁸ Afterwards one William Mulcahy of Bay township owned that he hid and cared for the fugitive for a week or two, finally taking him disguised to Detroit and across the river to Windsor.⁴⁹ He expected to be well rewarded for his services by Burley, but never heard from him again. The sheriff, however, received a letter from his former prisoner, asking that his books, of which he left a large number in the jail, might be forwarded to him in Canada. This was shown to the County Commissioners, who told the sheriff they were glad Burley was gone and advised him to get any of his money back that he could. So he wrote the fugitive that if he would send him a certain amount, which he has now forgotten, the books should be sent. In due time the money came, and the books were boxed and expressed to their owner, which closed Burley's transactions with the county of Ottawa, except that the case against him is still supposed to be open.

In the interval between the capture of the Philo Parsons and the close of the war considerable alarm was excited in the Great Lakes cities over the movements of the steamer *Georgian*, the control of which had been secured by the Confederate refugees in Canada. But either as a result of the vigilance of the Federal authorities or from a lack of such an enterprising spirit as that of Beall, whatever plans of mischief had been conceived came to naught.

⁴⁸. The story of Burley's escape was communicated to the writer by Mr. Lattimore himself.

⁴⁹. Mulcahy admitted this to John Detlefs, now deputy auditor of Ottawa County, who communicated it to the writer.

MILLARD FILLMORE

AND HIS PART IN

THE OPENING OF JAPAN

An Address delivered before the Buffalo Historical Society,
Friday evening, December 15, 1905

BY WM. ELLIOT GRIFFIS, D. D., L. H. D.

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MILLARD FILLMORE

AND HIS PART IN

THE OPENING OF JAPAN

BY WM. ELLIOT GRIFFIS, D. D., L. H. D.

In human history it often happens that good men suffer with the fate of institutions. Associated with or entangled in tendencies and events, their reputation falls with the policy which they in good faith upheld. Not until after the ground is cleared of debris and ruin, and new structures arise, from which we can view the historic landscape, can we pass a just judgment on those whose fortunes fell with the falling structure. Yet, as there is a difference between reputation and character, so the first may pass under eclipse only to emerge in brilliancy, while the latter remains for aye.

The personality of Millard Fillmore is but slightly known to the present generation, because in his public life he rose, and fell out of national notice, with the Whig party. His statesmanship, though marked by high qualities, confronted a problem that seems now to have been absolutely insoluble, except through an appeal to the sword, so that the issues, in meeting which he gave his noblest efforts, seem dead and gone forever, and, with them, in the eye of the unthinking, Millard Fillmore's reputation.

To the impartial student of history such is far from being the case. His character reveals itself as that of a noble patriot and generous citizen, and as one who did his duty as he saw it, never shirking it. Only for those who are wise after the event are shallow criticisms and snap judgments.

The generation that is now coming into active life and the generations which are to follow will award Millard Fillmore just consideration and higher praise. For their verdict upon his political life, we can afford to wait. In this paper we propose to outline the career of a typical American, who after birth in the forest and training on the farm emerged to national fame and world-wide power. We shall show especially his part in the opening of an empire long sealed from the world, but mainly through American action introduced into the family of nations and, with the aid of American political friendship and educational influences, assisted to an honorable place in the world's council of nations.

Least of all men was Millard Fillmore supercilious in pride of birth; and yet, neither history nor science permits us to ignore his ancestry. Genealogists find that the original family name has been variously spelled, the original form being Filmer, as, for example, in the case of Sir Robert Filmer. This political writer of the sixteenth century was one of the early expounders of the theory of the Divine Right of Kings, the critic of Milton, Hobbes, and Grotius; in a word, he was the assertor of a doctrine of which the Fillmores in America were to be the most uncompromising opposers with both sword and pen, in opinion and in life.

Coming from England and settling at Ipswich, Mass., in the seventeenth century, John Fillmore followed the sea. Captured by pirates, he was impressed on their vessel; but, refusing to serve them, he made his escape after a daring uprising, with comrades in the plot, and brought both the vessels to Boston and the pirates to justice and the gallows, —all of which is told in the pamphlet printed by his descendants. In later years, he settled near Norwich, Conn., whence his son, Nathaniel, emigrated to Bennington, Vermont. During Stark's campaign, Nathaniel Fillmore fought on the American side, having a part in that victory which some Vermonters believe was the turning-point of the Revolutionary War. Nathaniel's son, also named Nathaniel, a native of Bennington, emigrated to the lake region of New York, when the greater part of the Empire State was a

forest. He made a clearing in the town of Summer Hill, then a part of Locke in Cayuga County, and reared a log cabin. After reaping his first crop, he went back to Bennington and married Phebe Millard, a native of Pittsfield, Mass. Millard Fillmore, their second child and eldest son, was born in the log cabin at Summer Hill, Jan. 7, 1800. The baby boy's cradle was a sap-trough, for one of the active industries of the forest was the making of maple sugar, and such a receptacle was always at hand. From the trees the pioneers derived not only material for shelter and furniture, but food and fuel. After the chemistry of fire and leeching with water, the woodsman won wealth also from the sale of potash.

The boy Fillmore grew up among the trees and in the clearings of the beautiful lake region of New York. With abounding health and a vigorous constitution, that made its possessor a stranger to disease and weakness all his days, he inherited a fine manly figure that rendered him notable in later life. He shared his father's vicissitudes. Although the land had been scientifically laid out by Simeon DeWitt and his young surveyors, yet land titles were uncertain,—largely through the inexperience and carelessness of settlers and the rascality of men claiming to be lawyers. Losing his legal title to the soil, Nathaniel Fillmore moved eastward to the town of Sempronius, now named Niles, in the same county of Cayuga, and within one mile of Skaneateles Lake.

Young Fillmore was a real boy. He had an inclination to vary the routine of farm work and forest-subduing with recreation in hunting and fishing. His father, however, taught him that such an avocation became Indians better than civilized white men, and to this orthodoxy young Millard became a true convert. Nevertheless, his enjoyment in nature was intense. In his brief autobiography,¹ one of

1. "Sketch of the early life of Millard Fillmore, by himself, commenced Feb'y 8, 1871." The original manuscript, securely wrapped and sealed, was deposited by Mr. Fillmore in the archives of the Buffalo Historical Society, with instructions that it should not be opened until after his death, which were complied with. In 1880 the Autobiography was published by the Historical Society, in Vol. II of its Publications.

the most interesting writings that has dropped from his pen, he tells of his delight in the beauties of lake and stream, forest and hill. To him the advantages of education were few, for in the log school houses on the frontier, in that era, few men could be spared from manual labor. The young people were usually taught by women having but little intellectual training or resources of learning. Millard Fillmore never saw a geography or atlas until he was nineteen, and rarely a book of any sort beyond the Bible, almanac, and John Bunyan's immortal story. With this scanty library in the log cabin home he was well acquainted.

His father inclining to the idea, after bitter experiences, that replenishing and subduing the earth brought more sweat on the brow than money in the pocket, advised Millard to learn a trade. Becoming an apprentice to a wool-carder and cloth dresser, Millard mastered his craft according to the rude methods of his time. Meanwhile a library was started in his village and the boy's opportunities for learning about the world through books were handsomely enlarged. In his moments of leisure, while looking after the wooden machinery, he could utilize his time in perusing such volumes as he could command. As a reader, he diligently employed the hours of the night, also, and sometimes of early morning before the fireplace. When nineteen years of age he began the study of law with Judge Wood of Montville, N. Y., having bought off a part of his apprenticeship by giving his employer a promissory note, which he later honorably discharged.

Later on, in 1822, after paying his debts to Judge Wood, he left Central New York and removed to Buffalo, then a village rising from the ashes of war-fires. From the first, he had the strongest faith in the future of the city, of which he was to become the first citizen. He was admitted to the bar in 1823, but from modesty and other considerations opened an office at East Aurora, N. Y., teaching school as well as practicing law. From that time forward, Millard Fillmore was an exceedingly busy man, alternating his work of private legal practice with activity in political and public

executive life. In 1830, making his home in Buffalo, he former a partnership with Joseph Clary; and later, with Solomon G. Haven and Nathan K. Hall, established that law firm which was associated for many years prominently with the legal history of Western New York. He was sent by his fellow citizens of Erie County to be their spokesman in the New York Assembly, from 1829 to 1832. From 1833 to 1835, and from 1837 to 1841, he was Representative from the State of New York in the Congress of the United States. At the National Capital, as chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, he became virtual leader of the House. He shared the views of John Quincy Adams on the subject of slavery and voted chiefly with the Whigs. He also took the leading part in formulating the tariff of 1842. Thus brought prominently before the country, he was made the Whig candidate for Governor of the State of New York. Confronted as his rival by the very popular Silas Wright, Fillmore was defeated. Having resumed his law practice, he was called again to be Comptroller of the State of New York, when that office was of great importance and power, the work then done in it being now distributed among several bureaus.

The Whig party, not satisfied with having Millard Fillmore remain in a State office, nominated him on a ticket with Gen. Zachary Taylor. His duties as Vice-President were in the old capitol building at Washington. Before the distinguished representatives of thirty sovereign states, he appeared as moderator of a Senate, for which John C. Calhoun had formulated the rule that no Senator should be called to order for any of his utterances. Millard Fillmore, having already conquered himself and being a past master in urbanity, demanded that mutual courtesy should be the rule of the Senate. In clear and strong terms he enunciated his convictions and policy as presiding officer, and the Senate agreed with him, ordering his speech on this subject to be printed.

At this era in our national evolution, the slave and free states had each thirty senators, though in the House of

Representatives the free states had 139 Congressmen from the North to ninety-one from the South. The purpose of the upholders of slavery was to make the involuntary servitude of the negro a permanent institution in the United States and to anchor its claims in the constitution. With this end in view, they were desirous of having California enter as a slave state, and if possible to annex Cuba and get Texas divided into four states.

Taylor's inauguration marked the beginning of a process of change which in a few years was to destroy the Whig party and to transform the Democratic party. The Whigs rejected the principle of the Wilmot Proviso, which was to prevent the growth of slavery. The Free Soil Democrats had left the old Democratic party, but, since there were many pro-slavery Whigs, the old Democratic party became increasingly more progressively pro-slavery, by accession from their former opponents. Thus it will be seen that the Whigs had no compensating gain and their party was doomed from this time. Its disintegration continued from its success in 1848, until its anti-slavery successor, the Free Soil or Republican Party, took its place in 1855.

This era of decay of old party organizations, and the uprising of new ones was marked by an extraordinary issue from the mint of language. The coinage of odd and picturesque names varied according to local feeling and national exigencies. The wonderful verbal changes and unexpected political results suggest an exhibition of popular chemistry, when reactions and precipitants, colors and deposits, sublimates and vapors, surprise and bewilder the spectators. After a Democratic National Convention had voted down the doctrine that the people of each territory should prohibit or permit slavery as they pleased, the pro-slavery Whigs began to preach the doctrine of "Squatter Sovereignty." They did not foresee that such a doctrine would precipitate a battle of compromises. As matter of fact, the discovery of gold on the Pacific Coast brought to the front with startling rapidity the burning question. When, on the 13th of November, 1849, only twenty days before

the assembling of Congress, the people of California, immigrants of but a few months, made a constitution which expressly prohibited slavery, the pro-slavery Whigs and the Democrats alike saw a practical application of this doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty, which was both surprising and unwelcome.

In the Congress of 1849, the XXXIst, there were in the Senate thirty-five Democrats, twenty-five Whigs, and two Free Soilers. In the House there were 110 Democrats, 105 Whigs and nine Free Soilers; or, in other words, a Democratic majority in the Senate; while in the House there was no party majority, the Free Soilers holding the balance of power between the two opponents. Howell Cobb of Georgia, a Democrat, was elected Speaker, not by a majority, but by the highest number of votes. Henry Clay, just before the application of California for admission, proposed the Compromise of 1850, which covered seven points. The Whigs and Free Soilers with the extreme southern Democrats opposed this basis of settlement, but the majority of the American people accepted the compromise as the best means for averting civil war and the rupture of the states in union. The tremendous debate went on through the abnormally long session, the one so-called Omnibus Bill being divided into several bills.

While these were under debate, General Zachary Taylor died and Millard Fillmore was made President on July 9, 1850. The change had no effect upon party contests, for Millard Fillmore carried out the policy of his predecessor. Nevertheless he claimed and exercised the right of choosing his Cabinet officers, and this he did with the idea of having all parts of the country represented by his councillors. The tremendous debate continued amid intense anxiety for the safety of the Union. All the bills in the original Omnibus Bill were passed after debate of August and September, California becoming a State of the Union on the 9th of September, 1850. The adjournment of Congress took place on the last day of this memorable month, 1850.

The most vital part of the compromise measures was the Fugitive Slave Law, which was a virtual reenactment of the law which Washington had signed in 1793, but much more stringent in its provisions, and when put into practice at such a time and in such an era was often not only cruel but inhuman in its methods. The fugitive from unpaid labor was to be sought out and extradited without trial by jury; and all good citizens were commanded to aid in making arrests and returning the negro to the toil from which he had escaped. The work of hunting out and returning the fugitives was begun, but met with instant opposition all over the North, by and from Democrats, and anti-slavery Whigs as well as from Free Soilers. It caused the creation at once of "The Underground Railway," or concerted system of assisting thousands of negroes to make their way from below Mason and Dixon's line toward the North star into Canada.

This law, against which passion, conscience, poetry, eloquence and active intervention protested, was also opposed in the legislatures of the North, which passed personal liberty laws, which were intended to protect free negroes falsely alleged to be fugitive slaves.

When this "infamous bill" came up for the approval or veto of the President, Mr. Fillmore, not liking in it the feature of the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, asked the opinion of his Attorney-General, John J. Crittenden of Kentucky, who assured him that it was in accordance with the Constitution of the United States. Then, in all good conscience, and hoping it would unite the country and save war, he signed it in accordance with his oath to "maintain, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States of America."

In relation to the legislative department of the Government, we may remark concerning the second session of the XXXIst Congress that although long and tedious, the old economic questions having disappeared, slavery was still the burning question, while neither party was ready to commit itself to a final position. Hence, in reaction from the fur-

nace-like activity of the previous year, little beside routine business was transacted. When the XXXIId Congress met there was a Democratic majority in both branches. This seemed to prove beyond question that the American people at large were satisfied with the compromise measures, believing as they did that these had averted war. Had the United States comprised only the territory between the Atlantic and the Mississippi, the situation might have remained unchanged for another generation at least. The question of slavery was considered as settled and the measures recommended by the administration were mostly supported. However, in a new country like the United States, the western half was being developed with startling rapidity, and the struggle between slavery and its opposers was being transferred to the region west of the Mississippi river, though few persons foresaw this clearly.

So popular was Mr. Fillmore, both personally and politically, that when the Whig National Convention met at Baltimore on June 16th it endorsed the Compromise of 1850 and the Fugitive Slave Law almost as fully as the Democratic National Convention had done in the same city a fortnight before. Mr. Fillmore received a large vote at the opening of the convention, but General Winfield Scott and William A. Graham of North Carolina, Mr. Fillmore's Secretary of the Navy, were nominated for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency. The Free Soil Democratic Convention at Pittsburg, in August, denounced slavery, the Compromise of 1850, and both the Whig and Democratic parties. In the ensuing election the Whigs carried only four states, while the Democrats were victorious in twenty-seven. Pierce and King were elected. It was evident that the Whig party was destined to die of acute indigestion from having swallowed the Fugitive Slave Law.

Before we turn from Mr. Fillmore's political career, we may note that the Kansas-Nebraska bill was passed, and the division between Northern and Southern Whigs became final. The latter portion of the once "grand old party" became pro-slavery Democrat, while the northern wing

soon marched in line with the Republicans. In the reaction of political views and opinions, a new party had sprung up which was called the American party, though popularly named the Know-Nothings. Its great purpose was to have native-born American citizens chosen to office and to make difficult the naturalization of foreigners. Such an organization was almost inevitable in the general flux of old parties, when many veteran voters were too dissatisfied with their old enemies to ally themselves at once with the ancient organizations. It came to pass that this obscure party, which had been more or less local in its operations, became national for a time, and in 1853 nominated Millard Fillmore for its Presidential candidate. He accepted the nomination while in Europe, where, at Paris, with Martin Van Buren, he paid a visit to Horace Greeley. The latter was going through the odd and annoying experience of detention in a French prison, because of some ridiculous debt which a Frenchman, whose work of art and genius in plaster-of-paris had been injured during the World's Fair at the Crystal Palace at New York, claimed to exist against Greeley. This visit of Mr. Fillmore to an inveterate political enemy showed his generosity of character and kindness of heart. Furthermore, it was highly appropriate for a statesman, who in the New York Legislature had been the strenuous and wise leader in getting the statute in force which secured the abolition of imprisonment for debt, to do this eminently Christian act.

All compromise having proved but a temporary dyke against the surges raised by the increasing political storm, Millard Fillmore retired to private life, to become the first citizen of Buffalo, to be the founder of institutions and the promoter of noble schemes of civic advancement, notably of this Historical Society, the Buffalo General Hospital and the Buffalo University. As the dispenser of a gracious hospitality in his charming home, he was known over the land. He was the host in entertaining his successor (with two administrations between), Abraham Lincoln. During the war, without approving of all the details of governmental

policy, he was a loyal upholder of the Union cause. He wore the uniform of the Home Guard and was captain of a company. After a second marriage, which enabled him to maintain open house for years to a happy throng of guests and visitors, he ended his mortal career on March 8, 1874. Unfortunately for history, for his own full vindication from hostile criticism, or the misunderstanding of ignorance, all his carefully arranged public and private papers were destroyed by the executor of his only son's estate.²

Happily, however, Mr. Fillmore's most enduring works, which remain after his labors are forgotten, do not need the witness of his private archives. Testimony from other sources is abundant and the proofs are overwhelming that the supreme ambition of our thirteenth president was to

2. "A phenomenal instance of literary vandalism occurred in the city of Buffalo, early in 1891, when all the valuable letters and documents relating to the administration of Millard Fillmore were destroyed by the executor of the ex-President's only son, Millard Powers Fillmore, whose will contained a mandate to that effect. Why he should have wished in this way to destroy an important part of the history of his country, as well as of his father's honorable career, or why any intelligent lawyer should have consigned to the flames thousands of papers by Webster and other illustrious men, without at least causing copies of the most valuable of them to be made, is entirely beyond the comprehension of ordinary mortals." So writes Gen. James Grant Wilson, in his book, "The Presidents of the United States," pp. 259-260. Gen. Wilson tells of a visit which he made to Millard Fillmore, in the latter's Buffalo home, when the ex-President, pointing to a cabinet of papers in his library, said: "In those cases can be found every important letter and document which I received during my administration, and which will enable the future historian or biographer to prepare an authentic account of that period of our country's history." So far as known, none of these papers now exist.

There is no clause in Millard Fillmore's will directing the destruction of his papers; but in the will of his son occurs the following: "I, Millard Powers Fillmore, of Buffalo, N. Y., . . . particularly request and direct my executor at the earliest practicable moment to burn or otherwise effectively destroy all correspondence or letters to or from my father, mother, sister or me and under his immediate supervision. I hope to be able to do this before my death." The will named Delavan F. Clark, of Buffalo, as executor, and is dated May 2, 1884. It was admitted to probate Feb. 18, 1890, and letters testamentary were granted by the Court February 24th, Messrs. Charles D. Marshall, Delavan F. Clark and James H. Madison being appointed executors. Mr. Marshall states that the executors, in accordance with the direction of the will, did destroy all of the designated correspondence. He recalls that it included letters from Edward Everett, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster and other distinguished contemporaries of Millard Fillmore. No copies were made.

make his country great. He impressed upon the world the purpose of the American nation, in all its foreign relations, to do righteousness and to be generous toward the weak. Of exploration, the enlargement of commerce, cultivation of friendship with old and new nations, he was an ardent advocate. While personally active in schemes of humanity, he was vigorous in suppressing unlawful enterprises. In China and the North Pacific, in South America, in the Holy Land, Americans were notably forward in opening new paths of knowledge or avenues of commerce, but it was especially in "the discovery of a new nation," the Japanese, that Millard Fillmore was most wisely active. Many writers have claimed for themselves or their heroes, the honor of "originating" the successful Perry expedition of 1854, but to none, so much as to President Fillmore, are the honors of consummation due. Others for half a century or more, sailors, merchants, whalers, Congressmen, Cabinet officers, statisticians, commodores and naval lieutenants, men and women of faith and prayer, philanthropists and waifs, both American and Japanese, had part in augmenting that saturated solution in history's beaker, but it was Fillmore that dropped the fragment that turned liquid to crystals.

Let us look at the American advance in the Pacific and note the various attempts to lure out of her care the hermit lady of Japan. In the primeval myth, read in the *Kojiki*, Japan's Book of Origins, the Sun-goddess, enraged at the pranks of her younger brother, retired in the cave. By withdrawing her shining presence, she plunged the world in darkness. Hence it became necessary for the other "gods," by means of crowing cocks, blazing fires, the invention of jewelry, mirror, and works of art, with song and dance and music, mirth-making Uzumé and the noisy laughter of the *kami* to make her peep forth. This she did in order to satisfy her own curiosity. Then the Deity of Strong Hands pulled away the rocky door and in the flood of her effulgence all the world was again in light and joy.

This was the ancient way of telling in fascinating narrative and poetical myth of an eclipse of the sun and the origin

of the arts. In the modern reënactment of Japan's drama of Meiji, or enlightened civilization, on a grander scale and with historic and literal, rather than rationalistic interpretation, we shall outline the process of events in their chronological order. There was first, hospitable Japan open and sunny. Then came the disturbing foreigners. The political tricks of the agents of Spain and Portugal and their spiritual backers in Italy alarmed the Government. The proselyting of these strangers was according to the methods of the Inquisition. Their ruthless disturbance of Japanese ways of life was as the throwing, by the scapegrace Susanoō, of the reeking pie-bald horsehide on the looms and silken woof of the Sun-goddess and her virgins. Instantly frightened, Japan shut herself up as in a cave, barring out all the world. Long and often, but all in vain, did the men beyond sea, from Europe and America, display their inventions, sound their music, and attempt in every way, by threats, bribes and flatteries to allure out the hermit. Fair Japan kept in hiding until Matthew Perry's consummate acting, with the music of the Marine Band and the dulcet lines of Millard Fillmore's love-letter, moved the cave door ajar, so that in due season Townsend Harris's strong hands could pull it wide open and all the earth be flooded with the light of Nippon. In a large sense of the word, American statesmen, Webster, Everett, Fillmore, Graham, Kennedy, Perry, Harris, made modern Japan and gave the Mikado a new throne and nation.

As early as 1797 the American flag of stripes and stars was mirrored in Japanese waters, when Captain Stewart carried for the Dutch merchant at Deshima a cargo to Nagasaki from Batavia. Again in 1798, Captain Stewart entered, at Nagasaki harbor, Japan's loop-hole. When the flag of the Dutch republic was driven off the seas by France, the seventeen-starred flag of our country was borne on the two ships sent annually from Batavia to Nagasaki, and at least one of the pair sent annually from 1806 to 1809. Quick to take advantage of openings and opportunities, the American ship *Eclipse* of Boston was loaded with Russian

goods in 1807 and an attempt at trade made with the hermits of Nippon. Captain Coffin of Nantucket, in the American ship *Trident*, landed, in 1809, on the Bonin Islands, now an integral part of Japan. After the war of 1812, Commodore Porter in a letter to Secretary, afterwards President Monroe, asked for a frigate and two sloops to go on a venture to Japan to open trade. During the tremendous growth and expansion of our nation within the next two decades, Japan was less in the thoughts of our enterprising men, but under President Andrew Jackson there was a revival of interest in other nations. As yet we had no representative at the courts of Africa or Asia; but Edmund Roberts of Portsmouth, N. H., who had traded on the coasts of that continent from which most of mankind's inventions and culture, and even our Christian religion have come, became our first envoy in Asia. Setting forth in the sloop-of-war *Peacock*, and duly authorized by President Jackson, he made treaties with the rulers of Muscat in Africa and Siam in peninsular Asia, and then looked to China and Japan. He fell a victim to ship disease and found an honored grave at Macao. His monument was reared by his proud fellow countrymen, and in the stained glass of St. John's Episcopal Church at Portsmouth—the city of the Russia-Japan treaty conference—he is remembered and his achievements recalled.

During all these years, the shores of both countries were lined with wrecks and waifs from either distant continent. The American whaler had chased his prey from Cape Horn northward to the fogs of the Kurile Islands, and many a New Bedford sailor became an involuntary tourist in Japan—often enjoying free rides in prison cages. On the other hand, Japanese fishermen in junks blown out to sea drifted to hungry and to thirsty death and both as living men and as corpses arrived at the Aleutians, the coasts of British America, California and even at Hawaii. Not a few of them, landing in Alaska or southward, sunk their identity in the Indian tribes. Picked up by American or other ship captains, some of them reaching China, America, or Europe,

were lost to sight, or, learning English, or teaching their own tongue, have their names recorded and are known to fame. In 1837 we find the American Captain Kennedy at the Bonin Islands—then true to its name, meaning No Man's Land—where already a mixed non-Japanese colony of people from America or the Pacific islands had their home.

In this same year, 1837, the American merchant, Mr. Charles W. King of King & Co. of Macao, fitted out the ship *Morrison*, in hope of making a trading voyage to Japan and to return seven Japanese waifs picked up in Oregon and Luzon. From these men, Dr. S. Wells Williams had learned the tongue of Nippon. With them went also Dr. Peter Parker and Rev. Charles Gutzlaff. In vain was their mission. They met in Yedo Bay only the spitfire of the dragon's mouth. Obedient to their orders, the garrisons of the Japanese forts, then mounting one-pounder guns, fired on the *Morrison* and drove away the philanthropists. At Kagoshima, in Satsuma, they received the same answer of fire and iron. The voyage cost the ship owners \$2,000 and the results at first appear naught, but the literature of Japan shows that the moral effect was great in cheering those native prisoners of the spirit, who hoped to see their country enter the brotherhood of nations. Furthermore, the treatment of the *Morrison* helped to reveal to themselves what fools the Japanese, as represented and misrepresented by the Yedo bureaucracy, were in shutting out the whole world. In a word, Mr. King and the *Morrison* hastened the fall of the Yedo usurpation and the downfall of the Tycoon system—the necessary preliminaries of a united nation and the new Japan.

The year 1845 is a year notable to Americans in the story of Japan's opening. On February 15th, General Zadoc Pratt of Prattsville, Green County, N. Y., in the House of Representatives, offered a resolution advising the despatch of an American embassy to Japan and Korea. General Pratt was chairman of the Committee on Statistics. For several years, from 1830 to 1847, Mr. Aaron H. Palmer of New York gave great attention to the collection of informa-

tion bearing on American trade with the Asiatic continent, and the commercial possibilities of developing commerce so as to include Japan. He published a pamphlet on this subject which attracted attention in and out of Congress, and had a powerful influence in awakening attention to Japan as the unknown factor of the future in the Pacific Ocean.

In this same year, three Japanese fishermen blown far out to sea were carried by the United States frigate *St. Louis*, from one of the Micronesian islands to Ningpo, China. Afraid of being put to death, these poor fellows refused to be sent "home." Thus, Japan's cruelty, rather, shall we say, the savagery of the Yedo bureaucracy, was being more and more exposed to the world. Being itself a political sham, with a figurehead that was anything but an "emperor," the Bakufu had to tell bigger lies on each emergency to cover its previous deceptions. So the "tangled web" became still more entangled, until the sword of '68 cut its Gordian mass. We are not to accuse the Japanese people of the inhumanity of not receiving their own shipwrecked sailors and of firing on rescue ships and of defying the whole world. Hereafter, in this paper we shall use the term Bakufu—that is, not the true Emperor of Japan, but "the war-curtain government" at Yedo. Let us note the lying statements officially made in Yedo, for this may enable us to understand why Millard Fillmore gave Commodore Perry power, if necessary, to blow the lie to pieces.

We note one streak of sunshine before the storm.

In April, 1846, Captain Mercator Cooper, in the whaling ship *Manhattan*, of Sag Harbor, found fifteen Japanese sailors wrecked at St. Peter's Island. With seven others from a junk blown out from Yedo Bay, Cooper reached the coast of Japan. He sent two of his Japanese guests overland to Yedo announcing his coming. The American ship was met by boats sent by the authorities and the *Manhattan* was towed to an anchorage near the city, and Captain Cooper was courteously treated, receiving books, charts, water and food, but no encouragement to open trade.

The phenomena of waifs and whalers, statistics and Congressional resolutions, and the looming necessity of coal for our cruisers (for we were then beginning a steam navy) kept on increasing. Even Poughkeepsie, N. Y., which was then active in the whaling business, furnished her quota of influences in making the long-barred gates of Thornrose Castle swing open. In 1845, Captain Baker, of the ship *Lawrence*, sailed down the Hudson, into the Atlantic, and around Cape Horn to her hunting waters of northern Japan, only to be wrecked amid the fogs of the Kurile Islands. Seven survivors landed, to be kindly treated by the people and thrown in prison by officers. Indeed, that was the normal Japanese attitude under Tycoonism—kind hearts among the people, impotent dread and heartless cruelty from officialdom. Japan's government then was a lie in intrenchments. After incarceration and ill treatment for seventeen months, the Americans were sent to Batavia, Java, in a Dutch vessel.

Sensitive to the rising tide of influence, President James K. Polk late in 1847 ordered Commodore Biddle, in the ship of the line *Columbus*, of ninety guns, and the sloop of war *Vincennes* to enter Yedo Bay and deliver a letter to the sham "emperor," the Yedo shogun. The Commodore was instructed to inquire as to the opening of the ports of Japan to trade, but under no circumstances to do anything to cause animosity. The mighty ships were at once and during ten days walled in with a cordon of junks, lashed stem to stern, in a circle. Why? To keep the Americans from landing? Hardly. Japan was clamped and cramped by the laws of inclusion fully as much as by the iron rules of exclusion. Rather was it the purpose of stereotyped barbarism to warn off, under ban of death or gaol, if caught, the inquiring spirits in Japan itself, who sought knowledge and who hated with unsleeping hatred their Yedo oppressors. They, unspeakably more than the aliens, longed to crush Yedo tyranny and make Japan less a fragile shell and more a potent nation. Duarchy was doomed.

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"The defiant expression of the exclusive policy in its dying hours," as Dr. Nitobe stigmatizes it, was a volley of falsehoods. Below are extracts from the "edict" of the sham "emperor" in Yedo and the last refusal emanating from the system, which, twenty-four years later, was to disappear forever in the battle smoke of Fushimi. Before the cannon and American rifles of patriots who hated, with the hatred of over two centuries, the whole structure of the Yedo Government, duarchy and sham were improved off the face of the earth, to be quickly followed by belated feudalism.

Here are some of the authorized falsehoods—specimens of the crop all too luxuriant in the "official" history of Japan. We quote the shogun's reply of 1846 with our comment in brackets:

"We refuse to trade with foreigners because this has been our habit from time immemorial." [On the contrary, Japan was open to trade from ancient times until Iyeyasu, founder of the Yedo system, shut it off about A. D. 1615.] "It will be of no use to renew the attempt." [No, not until Glynn, Perry and Harris, who will take no refusal, come, or until wise men rule in Yedo.] "Every nation has a right to manage its affairs in its own way." [Once true, possibly. In the Yedo sense of exclusion, opposed to Confucius and Mencius, who said "He who does not rescue the shipwrecked is worse than a wolf," to say nothing about Christ, or human solidarity and ocean's dangers, no nation has such a right.] "The trade carried on with the Dutch at Nagasaki is not to be regarded as furnishing a precedent for trade with other foreign nations. The place is of few inhabitants and very little business." [Relatively with Yedo, true; but, as a general statement, wholly false. So far from being of "no importance," this Nagasaki "affair," of a Dutch merchant settlement, fertilized for two centuries and a half, the Japanese intellect, through science, language, the education of native physicians, the gaining of knowledge, apparatus, mechanism, etc. Dutch trade was one of the potent elements in the making of the Japan of today.] "The Emperor." [This is a translation of Tai-kun, a usurped title, a sham

and a usurpation, for which, in the gathering storm that broke in 1868, the inventors or their successors paid dearly.] "Consult your own safety by not appearing again on our coast." [That bombastic warning—a veritable jackass kick to the supposedly moribund lion of foreign solicitation, really woke up the king of beasts. Modern commerce, the nineteenth-century world of coal, of steam, and of human solidarity, could not be treated thus.]

Unconsciously the Bakufu [Curtain Government, as its enemies called the Yedo régime] instead of solving, as its incompetent statesmen supposed, the problem of foreign intercourse by a silly threat, did but reopen the question in an acute form, as we shall see.

In the perspective of history, while the pendulum of interest vibrated from eastern to western end of the arc, from Japanese waifs to the American demand for coal and commerce, the crisis was hastened by the outbreak of the Mexican War, which resulted in the inclusion of California in the possessions of the United States. This extended our frontier along the Pacific front and was quickly followed by the discovery of gold and the influx of immigrants by land and sea, ship and wagon. Japan, the hermit nation, was confronted with the imminent problem long feared, while ignored, by the Yedo Bureaucracy, but now uprearing itself in colossal form. With wise foresight, the friendly King of the Netherlands sent out two war ships to Japan, strongly advising the Japanese to receive peaceably and with welcome the American envoy. Thus his proposals for a treaty, proceeded a step further in coöperation with American enterprise. The special point which we notice about this Dutch recommendation is that Perry ignored, while Fillmore gratefully noted and commended this help from the Dutch—the one European people in whom the Japanese had retained confidence.

The insolent word of the Bakufu to Biddle created the policy of Glynn, Fillmore, Perry and Harris, which in turn coöperated with interior forces to undermine the Yedo system, that for two centuries had overawed the Mikado, for the making of the new Japan.

That moment when Biddle, a commodore in the United States navy, was insulted by a common junk-man, yet made no hostile reprisal, but like a good soldier, obeyed his orders, was the pivot on which events turned. Peaceful measures were past. Forbearance was no longer a virtue. Biddle died soon after and the Mexican War broke out. Japan was forgotten for a while, but Peace came, and then our shipwrecked sailors languishing in Japanese prisons, were remembered. Nor was the insult to Biddle forgotten by the officers and sailors of the United States navy. On the next visit, not Japan but the minions of Yedo officialdom were to learn what were in both talons of the American eagle. In one was the olive branch, in the other were the bolts and arrows of war. The first navy to give Christendom the initiative in defying the Algerian pirates and to rescue without ransom her sons in Mahometan prisons, the first to challenge successfully the British claim to rule the seas, was to lead in breaking Japan's bars of barbarism forged in Yedo. The United States was now ready to open another chapter of advance in the history of civilization. In the dishonor done to Biddle and the insults to the peaceful wooing by modest petition of the United States, the Bakufu sounded its own doom. It gave to the unsleeping "Mikado-reverencers" their long-awaited opportunity to spring at its throat. We can now afford to be brief in showing why Fillmore not only selected Perry as the man for the work in hand, but backed him with sufficient force to compel respect even from the pinchbeck "emperor" at Yedo; who, in the eyes of Japanese patriots, educated by critical and historical scholars, was but a usurper.

It was in January, 1849, that the Japanese bureaucracy received more than a hint that the day of their own inclusion and the exclusion, not of aliens but of their own shipwrecked people, was nearly over, and that the outside nations looked upon their insolent refusals, both to take back Japanese waifs and to open communications, as inhumanity and barbarism. Captain Geisinger of the American man-of-war *Peacock* was informed by the Dutch superintendent of trade

at Nagasaki of the imprisonment of American sailors from the American whaler *Ladoga*. These men, originally fifteen in number, had, on account of harsh treatment, deserted in boats. Drifting to an island near Matsmai, they were seized and imprisoned. Suspected to be spies, they were harshly treated, and on trying repeatedly to escape, the rigors of confinement were doubled, driving one to suicide and another to death by quack's poison. When their Japanese guards were told that such cruelty would bring down vengeance from the United States, they laughed sneeringly, one of them saying that Americans cared nothing for their shipwrecked sailors, for a Japanese in Yedo Bay had insulted an American chief and nothing had been done in punishment of the outrage.

Lieutenant Glynn, in the little ten-gun brig *Preble*, was sent, not to request but to demand their release. If unsuccessful at Nagasaki, he must go to Yedo. The time for olive branches had passed.

Glynn was the man for the hour. No cordon of guard boats, lashed together at stern and stern, for him! He threatened, if such humiliation were attempted, to blow the imprisoning wall to pieces. He went further by pushing on his ship, despite batteries on the bluffs, and the protest of the petty native officers in his cabin, up to the city of Nagasaki. Demanding the quick delivery of the American seamen on his deck, he trained his guns on the city. In impotent fear of their cold, black, iron noses, the haughty minions of the Bakufu yielded at once. Glynn's guns were too real, and the man was not to be fooled with. He sailed off, having set a mark for the coming Perry. The effete bureaucrats in the Tycoon's capital were mightily impressed.

At home the problem of Japan still commanded attention. Glynn planned and recommended a diplomatic mission to Japan; but, being but a lieutenant, his document, even if written to a Cabinet officer, reached only the pigeonholes at Washington. In 1848, our Secretary of the Treasury reported that the commerce of Japan, but two weeks by steam from our western coast, "can be secured to us by persever-

ing and peaceful efforts." Highly advanced in civilization, containing fifty millions of people [thirty millions then, fifty millions including Formosa in 1905], the prize was worth seeking. In August, 1850, Glynn's report of his Japan experiences was published and whetted interest in the tantalizing lure. In conversation, in the newspapers, in Congress and in Cabinet, the question was discussed. The surcharged solution, with fresh material added daily, increased in strength towards the point of saturation. Crystallization could not be far off. Yet who should drop the solidifying lump? Should Glynn, McCluney, Geisinger, Aulick, Perry—all veterans under the flag—lead the "peaceful armada"? On Feb. 24, 1851, Glynn wrote to the firm of Howland & Aspinwall on Chinese trade, the necessity of a coaling station on the coast of Japan and the hopeful prospect of any Japanese negotiations.

Still the rescue of Japanese waifs far out on the Pacific continued, as the northern seas grew less lonely and more populous as the highway of nations. Across this ocean avenue, humanity could afford no such obstacle as a Thornrose Castle to exist. Not only California, but all the world demanded coal. The day of the wind as motor was over. The hour of steam had come. Japan, rich in the black diamonds of the new era, held treasures for the race. The rays of desire to open the treasure-house were converging and focussing to the burning point. On the 9th of May, 1851, the brave and veteran sailor, Commodore Aulick, read in the newspapers of the landing at San Francisco of some Japanese waifs picked up at sea by Captain Jennings of the bark Auckland. On the 10th he wrote a letter to Secretary Daniel Webster calling his attention to the incident as offering an opportunity of showing friendship and proposing negotiations with a view to commercial intercourse. Webster sought the advice of the one man who had made the Japanese yield to the demands of humanity, Commodore Glynn, and also of Aaron Palmer the statistician. Mr. Webster drafted a letter to the "emperor" of Japan, which President Fillmore read and signed. Aulick was clothed

with full powers as treaty maker and set out joyfully, by way of Brazil, on the new steam frigate *Susquehanna*.

How the brave sailor came to grief through mild indiscretion and much tittle-tattle, and, broken in health, was recalled from China,—getting his name cleared from stain, but too late for the glory of the Japan possibilities, is a sad story. Yet success with his meagre force was problematical.

The story of the Perry Expedition has been often told, but not the part which Mr. Fillmore had in it. Despite the wanton posthumous destruction of his papers by his son's executor, we have abundant written and personal testimony that it was Mr. Fillmore that made certain the choice of Perry and secured to him the force he needed, so that the Yedo Bakufu did not attempt either defiance or resistance, but yielded gracefully to peaceful negotiation. It was Mr. Fillmore, who, after the recall of Aulick and resignation of both the Cabinet officers most concerned in the Japan matter, kept up the good work. The President was really responsible for Perry's success, through reinforcement in diplomatic powers and in the equipment and prompt despatch of transports, coal, and war vessels. When Webster, ill and dying, left his portfolio, Mr. Fillmore summoned Edward Everett to revise and emphasize the letter to the "emperor." When William A. Graham, Secretary of the Navy, became, with Scott, who was nominated for the presidency, a candidate for popular suffrage, and resigned from office, the journals of the new Secretary, John R. Kennedy, show that President Fillmore's choice was for Perry as the diplomatist, while other witnesses, including the testimony of Mr. Fillmore, in private and public, demonstrate that he persisted in keeping Perry's force not merely a brace of ships, or even a squadron, but a real fleet of eight steamers and frigates mounting 230 cannon, besides coaling vessels and transports, having in all over 2,000 men.

In all this, as a matter of settled policy, Millard Fillmore, as a lover of humanity and an ardent advocate of peace, was entirely right. He was true to his record. When Mr. Fillmore was in Congress, during the thirties, the affair of

the Caroline, in Canadian waters—when the American flag, which the writer has seen in the United Service Museum in London, was captured—took place. For this outrage, no honorable satisfaction was ever made to the United States. In the discussion, which, to the discredit of our country, ended only in verbal boasts, Mr. Fillmore said: "The best way to avoid a war with Great Britain is to show that we are prepared to meet her. . . . Reasonable preparations for defence are better than gasconading." In short, Washington's forgotten maxim, "In time of peace, prepare for war," was remembered by Fillmore. Japan's impotency in 1853 did but confirm this warning and principle. It is certain that one of the soundest, most convincing and most often used arguments in the councils of Yedo was the uselessness, because of the impossibility, of resisting Perry's potencies. In the face of a proposition of friendship and honorable treatment from the United States, refusal, a repetition of the Biddle incident, or insult was madness. Hence the treaty.

Today, at Kurihama, fronting Yedo Bay, where the letter of President Fillmore in its golden casket was delivered to the Sho-gun's envoys, a monolith arises in Perry Park bearing a shining and gilded inscription to the glory of Perry. This is right. With the Mikado as chief donor, and the Marquis Ito as penman, it tells what the Commodore did. With equal truth of history might other Americans, who helped in the grand consummation from 1797 to 1853, be remembered; but, in such a list, Millard Fillmore's name ought to lead them all. On Feb. 2, 1874, in presence of Col. C. O. Shepherd, ex-consul of the United States to Japan, Mr. Fillmore, then unconscious that his quick decease was to follow a few weeks later, modestly asked to state "a few facts not popularly known." His words, as reported in the Buffalo newspapers and *American Historical Record*, showed that in 1852 he knew well the reality concerning the abominable Japanese prisons as they were half a century ago and the cruelty practiced on American shipwrecked men made prisoners. The facts are that all the resolutions

concerning Perry's expedition "were in full Cabinet councils, in which there was no difference of opinion, but the fullest accord." A great fleet, making a "show of power, might be deemed a persuader in procuring a treaty." Perry was to "use no violence, unless he was attacked." Thus, though Perry was "cautioned against making any attack, he was fully authorized in the event of being attacked by the Japanese, to use the power of the Government in repelling it, and to satisfy the jealous islanders that they were dealing with a Government competent and willing to protect its own citizens."

As a student of both Japanese and American history, I cannot but believe that to Millard Fillmore belongs equal honors with Matthew Perry, for the success of the Japan Expedition. In this year of the Portsmouth Treaty, let Fillmore's name receive fresh lustre reflected from the past; while for the future, and until some better method is discovered, let the Mikado's Empire and the American Republic remember the teaching alike of Washington and Fillmore as to the best way of avoiding war.

NOTE—It is my purpose to collect materials for a biography of Millard Fillmore, showing his place in the history of the United States and of civilization; for which I respectfully beg the coöperation of those who knew him.—WM. ELLIOT GRIFFIS.

[Some reminiscences of Millard Fillmore will be found in an appendix of this volume.—EDITOR.]

THE
STORY OF JONCAIRE
HIS LIFE AND TIMES ON
THE NIAGARA

BY FRANK H. SEVERANCE

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INTRODUCTION

The following chapters are a portion of an extended study, as yet unpublished, of the operations of the French on the Lower Lakes, with especial reference to the history of the Niagara region. The sources from which the narrative is drawn are almost wholly documentary, both printed and in manuscript. The most important printed sources are the "London Documents" and "Paris Documents," which constitute volumes five and nine of the "Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York." In order to avoid cumbering my pages with many foot-notes referring to these documents, this general acknowledgment of authorities is here deemed sufficient. Some examination of the manuscripts themselves has been made in various depositories, especially the Public Records Office and the British Museum in London, the Canadian Archives Office at Ottawa, and in the manuscripts office of the New York State Library at Albany. Some facts have been gleaned from the Provincial Records of Pennsylvania. There is to be found in the printed histories so little regarding Joncaire the elder and the special field of his activities, that one may ignore them all with little loss, if he have access to the documentary sources, and patience to study them. With the exception of the short but precious "*Histoire du Canada*" of the Abbé de Belmont; the "*Histoire de l'Amerique septentrionale*" of De Bacqueville de La Potherie (Paris, 1753); the works of Charlevoix and one or two other chroniclers

who were contemporary with the events of which they wrote, the following narrative is based entirely on the documents themselves. The reader should bear in mind, moreover, that these chapters are but an excerpt, as already stated, from a study of the whole period of French occupancy of our region; and that the true relationship and proper values of those events, depend largely on what has preceded, and what is to follow, these forty years which I have designated the Dark Decades on the Niagara.

F. H. S.

THE STORY OF JONCAIRE

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I. FROM THE RHONE TO THE NIAGARA.

In tracing the history of the Niagara region, one comes to a time when records seem to vanish and exploits to cease. The story of the early cross-bearers and explorers is much more than twice told. The splendid adventuring of La Salle has been made the most familiar chapter in the annals of the Great Lakes. After him, in the closing years of the seventeenth century, a few expeditions, a few futile campaigns and fated undertakings, have been meagerly chronicled. We read of Le Barre's foolish and fruitless plans, of Denonville's pathetic and calamitous establishment at the mouth of the Niagara. But with the passing of La Salle from the pages of our regional history, the light wanes, the shadows deepen. We are come to the Dark Decades on the Niagara.

So one may fairly designate the first forty years of the eighteenth century. Speaking broadly, they are a part of the century-long strife between France and England for American supremacy. There were periods, it is true, in these decades, when the rivals were nominally at peace. The Treaty of Ryswick, after King William's War, proclaimed a peace that was kept from 1697 till 1702; and following Queen Anne's War, the Treaty of Utrecht warded off armed

hostilities from 1713 to 1744. Thus for thirty-five years—seven eighths of the period under notice—there was political peace between France and England; but on the Niagara, and the Great Lakes which it joins, there was never a day in all those forty years when the spirit of commercial warfare was not active.

During these years, the American colonies of the rival powers were developing along widely divergent lines. France established her distant posts, throughout the lake and trans-Alleghany region, her very energy weakening her for future defense. The English colonies, and New York in particular, devoted themselves more to developing the home territory. Both cajoled and bargained with the Indians, both exhausted themselves in fighting each other. It was the time when the slave trade was encouraged; when piracy flourished. But recently were the days when Captain Kidd and Morgan and Blackbeard and their kind "sailed and they sailed"; and the attention of New York's governors was divided between lawless and red-handed exploits on the seas, the quarrels of their legislative councillors, and the interference of the French in their reach for the fur trade.

Throughout these Dark Decades there is a figure in our regional history which, strive as we may, is at best but dimly seen. Now it stands on the banks of the Niagara, a shadowy symbol of the power of France. Now it appears in fraternal alliance with the Iroquois; and anon it vanishes, leaving no more trace than the wildest warrior of the Senecas, silently disappearing down the dim aisles of his native forest. Yet it is around this illusive figure that the story of the Niagara centers for forty years.

This man is the French interpreter, soldier, and Seneca by adoption, commonly spoken of by our historical writers as Chabert de Joncaire the elder. He never attained high rank in the service; he was a very humble character in comparison with several of his titled superiors who were conspicuous in making the history of our region during the time of his activity hereabouts. But it was primarily through his skilful diplomacy, made efficient by his peculiar relations to

the Indians, that France was able to gain a foothold on the Niagara, for trade and for defense, and to maintain it for more than a quarter of a century.

His baptismal name was Louis Thomas, de Joncaire; his seigneurial title, *Sieur de Chabert*. The son of Antoine Marie and Gabriel Hardi, he was born, in the year 1670, in the little town of St. Remi, of the diocese of Arles, in Provence. As a child, he may have played amid the mighty ruins of Roman amphitheatres and palaces, and have grown up familiar with monuments of a civilization which antedated by many centuries the Christian era. He came to Canada when still a boy, presumably with the marine troops, largely from Provence, which accompanied the Chevalier de Vaudreuil in 1687. Many years his senior, Vaudreuil often appears as his patron and staunchest friend, defending his character when villified, and commending him for favor and promotion. With the facility of the young in picking up the Indian speech, Joncaire was soon expert as interpreter. At a later period, he enlisted, and held various ranks; in 1700, quartermaster to the Governor's Guard; by 1706, a lieutenant of the marine forces in Canada. The posts of honor and responsibility which he held later in life will be duly noted in our narrative.

At an early period Joncaire and several companions were taken captive by the Iroquois. I find no account of the time or place of Joncaire's capture. In view of his relations to Vaudreuil, it is not unlikely that he accompanied that officer in the expedition against the Senecas in 1687, and that he was taken prisoner. The earliest account of his captivity that I find is given by Bacqueville de La Potherie, who says: "He was taken in a battle; the fierceness with which he fought a war chief who wished to bind him in order to burn his fingers, until the sentence of death could be carried out, induced the others to grant him his life, his comrades having all been burned at a slow fire. They [*i. e.*, the Iroquois] adopted him, and the confidence which they had in him thenceforth, led them to make him their mediator in all

negotiations."¹ He passed much of his subsequent life among the Senecas, and though he won distinction for his service to his king and the cause of Canada, he seems never to have forfeited the confidence of his red brethren. He did not, like many prisoners of the period, wholly sever his connection with his own people. On the contrary, his intimacy with the Senecas proved of the greatest value to Canada in the promotion of her plans for trade.

Whenever Joncaire may have been taken prisoner, he was released in the autumn of 1694, with twelve other prisoners, one of whom was M. de Hertel,² a French officer whose services were of some note at a subsequent period. Father Milet, who had been held a prisoner among the Oneidas since 1689, was returned to the French at the same time. Joncaire had then lived among the Senecas for several years, and had been adopted by a Seneca family to fill the place of "a relative of importance," whom they had lost. "He ingratiated himself so much with that nation," says Colden, "that he was advanced to the rank of a sachem, and preserved their esteem to the day of his death; whereby he became, after the general peace, very useful to the French in all negotiations with the Five Nations, and to this day

1. La Potherie was a contemporary of Joncaire, and his "*Histoire de L'Amerique septentrionale*," published in Paris in 1753, contains the fullest early account of Joncaire's captivity I have been able to find. La Potherie is apparently Parkman's authority; yet I find no other basis than the passage above quoted for the following, in "*Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV.*": "The history of Joncaire was a noteworthy one. The Senecas had captured him some time before, tortured his companions to death, and doomed him to the same fate. As a preliminary torment, an old chief tried to burn a finger of the captive in the bowl of his pipe, on which Joncaire knocked him down. If he had begged for mercy, their hearts would have been flint; but the warrior crowd were so pleased with this proof of courage that they adopted him as one of their tribe, and gave him an Iroquois wife." Evidently the historian has read into the meager account of La Potherie certain picturesque—and highly probable—details drawn from his own knowledge of Indian customs and character. As for Joncaire's Indian wife, her existence is also highly probable; but I find no proof of it in contemporary records.

2. "Orchouche, avec les Ouiengiens, ramène 13 esclaves; entre autres, M. de Hertel et M. de Joncaire."—Belmont, "*Histoire du Canada*," p. 36. The Abbé de Belmont was Superior of the Seminary at Montreal, 1713 to 1724. His MS. history is in the Royal Library at Paris.

they show regard to his family and children."³ There is no implication here, nor in any other writer who may be called contemporary with Joncaire, that he married a Seneca woman. On March 1, 1706, at Montreal, he married Madelaine le Guay, by whom, from 1707 to 1723, he had ten children,⁴ several of whom died in infancy, and but two of whom came to bear a part in their country's history. The eldest child, Philippe Thomas de Joncaire, born Jan. 9, 1707, is known by his father's title, Chabert, and by many writers the two are more or less confused.⁵ The seventh child, Daniel, Sieur de Chabert et Clausonne, commonly called Clausonne, was born in 1716. Both of these sons followed in their father's footsteps, and for many years are conspicuous figures in the history of the Niagara region.

The first public service in which we find the senior Joncaire employed was not until six years after his release by the Iroquois. He was at the conference in Montreal, July 18, 1700, between the Chevalier de Callières and six deputies from the Iroquois, two from the Onondagas and four from the Senecas. Pledges of peace were made in the figurative language employed on such occasions. Callières was solicitous about certain Frenchmen and Indian allies of the French who were still held in the Iroquois country. The deputies declared their willingness to restore them, and asked as a special favor that Joncaire return with them, to fetch out the captives. This request was granted, Father Bruyas and the Sieur de Maricourt being also sent along, the two former to

3. Colden's "History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada," (London, 1747), p. 179.

4. Tanguay, "Dictionnaire Généalogique." The following data are given regarding Joncaire's children: Philippe Thomas, b. Jan. 9, 1707; Madelaine, b. May 8, 1708, d. 1709; Jean Baptiste, b. Aug. 25, 1709, d. 1709; Louis Romain, b. Nov. 18, 1710; Marie Madelaine, b. April, 1712, d. 1712; Louis Marie, b. Oct. 28, 1715; Daniel, b. 1716; Madelaine Thérèse, b. March 23, 1717; Louis Marie, b. Aug. 5, 1719; Francois, b. June 20, 1723. The family home seems always to have been at or near Montreal. Madame de Joncaire, mother of these children, is buried in the church at Repentigny.

5. In Parkman's "Half Century of Conflict," Joncaire and his oldest son are spoken of as the same person, and no distinction is made between them in the index.

the Onondagas, Joncaire to the Senecas. "Our son Joncaire," the chiefs called him; and before the council broke up, they solemnly gave to Callières three strings of wampum. "We give these," they said, "in consequence of the death of Joncaire's father, who managed affairs well, and was in favor of peace. We inform Onontio, by these strings of wampum, that we have selected Tonatakout, the nearest blood relation, to act as his father instead, as he resembles [him] in his disposition of a kind parent." We are to understand that this father who had died was the adoptive father, according to the Seneca custom. The Governor expressed sympathy; approved the appointment of the new father; and gave the Senecas a belt "in token of my sharing your sentiments; and I consent that *Sieur Joncaire* act as envoy to convey my word to you and to bring me back yours."⁶ This so pleased the chiefs that they consented that four of their people should remain at Montreal until their return.

Callières at this period was more concerned in making a firm peace with the savages south of Lake Ontario than with getting any foothold on the Niagara. In fact, for the time, he avoided any movement in that direction. The next spring, when he sent La Motte Cadillac and Alphonse de Tonty to make their establishment at Detroit, he had them follow the old Ottawa route, "by that means," he announced beforehand to Pontchartrain, "avoiding the Niagara passage so as not to give umbrage to the Iroquois, through fear of disturbing the peace, until I can speak to them to prevent any alarm they might feel at such proceedings, and until I adopt some measures to facilitate the communication and conveyance of necessaries from this to that country through Lake Ontario." Callières knew that the minister had very much at heart the success of the project on the Detroit; it was not politic to urge at the moment the advantages to be gained from a hazardous experiment on the Niagara. The band that built Fort Pontchartrain, thereby laying the foundations for the city of Detroit, went thither by the Ottawa route; and although there was an occasional passage

6. N. Y. Col. Docs., IX, 711.

by way of the Niagara—a few of which we can trace, more of which, no doubt, we are ignorant of—yet for many years from the time we are now considering, the principal coming and going between the Upper Lakes and the lower St. Lawrence was by the northern route.

Joncaire spent the summer of 1700 among the Senecas in the furtherance of his mission. There were no permanent Seneca villages at this time west of the Genesee, and there is no ground for supposing that he visited the Niagara. We do not know when he first came hither. By September 3d he was back again at Montreal, with Father Bruyas and Maricourt from the Onondagas, nineteen “deputies” of the Iroquois and thirteen prisoners for restoration to the French.

Joncaire had found no little trouble in inducing them to return. Many a French soldier was brought by the fierce Senecas a trembling, fainting captive into their lodges, only to be adopted as one of the nation. An alliance with a young squaw, by no means always uncomely, quickly followed. The rigors and discomforts of the frontier post and wilderness campaign prepared him to accept with philosophy if not with entire satisfaction, the filth and rudeness of savage life. In the matters of cruelty and barbarity, the French soldier of the period was too often the equal of his Indian brother. The freedom of the forest life always appealed to the Gallic blood. There was adventure, there was license, there were often ease and abundance among his savage captors. If at times there were distress and danger, these, too, he had known in the King’s service. Small wonder, then, that among such captives as saved their scalps by reason of some exhibition of a dauntless spirit, there were many who preferred to abide with the red men, in their villages pleasantly seated in the beautiful valleys of Central New York, to a return to the duties and privations of service in Canada. Once more among the French, they knew they need never look for mercy again from the Iroquois into whose hands they were ever likely to fall. Their point of view must have been entirely familiar to Joncaire; though on this and subsequent occasions he seems faithfully to have sought to induce them to return.

Whatever may have been his course, he kept a singularly strong hold on the affections of the Senecas. With the party that went up to Montreal in September, the Senecas sent along a young man. "When Joncaire was in our country," said one of their spokesmen to the Governor, "the father of this youth whom we restore, was his master; but now it is Joncaire who is master of this young man. We give him in order that if Joncaire should happen to die, he may be regarded as his nephew and may take his place. Therefore it is that we give him up to Onontio, whom we beg, with the Intendant, to take care of him and to confine him should he become wild." And Callières, as in duty bound, promised to care for the youth, and to "furnish him everything he shall require to qualify him for filling some day said *Sieur Joncaire's* place."

For some years following Joncaire was much employed on missions of this sort; now sojourning among the Onondagas or the Senecas, to secure the release of prisoners or to spy on the emissaries of the English; now back at Montreal, interpreting at councils. In the negotiations of the time he seems to have been well nigh indispensable.

At the general council at Montreal in the summer of 1701, at which assembled not only representatives of the Iroquois, but of tribes from Mackinaw and the West, Joncaire found himself for the time being in an embarrassing position. The western tribes, after great difficulty, had been induced to send hither the French and Iroquois prisoners, for exchange. Here appeared the Rat, that greatest and most eloquent red man of his day, of whose eloquence, intelligence and nobility of character many writers from La Potherie to Parkman have testified. The Rat handed over to Callières his Iroquois prisoners, and demanded to know why the Five Nations were not delivering up theirs; they were not acting in good faith, he said. The Iroquois replied, through their orator Teganeout, that their young men had charge of the prisoners, and that the latter were unwilling to leave the lodges where they had lived since childhood; were they French or Western Indian, it mattered not; they

had forgotten their own people and were attached to those who had adopted them, significantly adding that Joncaire had not very strongly urged their return.

Joncaire rose in the council, acknowledged his fault, and begged the Senecas, his brethren, to help him accomplish the matter hereafter. High words followed, but later reconciliation was effected.

A few days afterward, the council being still in session, the Rat died. In the obsequies that followed, Joncaire was singularly conspicuous. The body of the great Huron chief lay in state at the Hôtel Dieu, in an officer's uniform, with side arms, for he held the rank and pay of an officer in the French army.⁷ After the Governor General and Intendant had sprinkled the corpse with holy water, Joncaire led sixty warriors from Sault St. Louis to the bier, where they wept for the dead, bewailing him in Indian fashion and "covered him," which figurative expression signifies that they gave presents to his tribesmen. After the imposing funeral, at which the ritual of the Roman Catholic church was blended with military usage and Indian rites, Joncaire led another band of Iroquois to condole with and compliment the Hurons, with significant gifts of wampum.

In these acts Joncaire was undoubtedly at work, not only for his Government, but for the Senecas and his own interests, which from now on center more and more on the western boundary of the Five Nations cantons. French interests on the Niagara were not to be jeopardized by a needless rupture with the Hurons.

At a council at Onondaga, in September, 1701, Joncaire encountered Capt. Johannes Bleecker and David Schuyler, sent out from Fort Orange, as their report has it, "to hinder the French debauching of our Indians." The English reports of these transactions are less formal and correct than are those of the French; but their vigorous phraseology, heightened by the ignorant or whimsical spelling of the time, adds a reality and picturesqueness to the chronicle which the Paris documents lack. Joncaire had brought an abundance

7. Charlevoix, Shea's ed., V, 147.

of the goods which the Indian craved, a part at least of the store intended for the families who consented to release their prisoners in exchange. Captain Bleecker and his companion were irritated at the success which Joncaire and his fellows had among "our Indians." "We understand," said Bleecker, "the French are come here to trade. Do you send for us to come with such people, if you send for us for every Frenchman that comes to trade with you, wee shall have work enough and if you will hearken to them they will keep you in alarm Continually we know this is the contrivance of the Priests to plague you Continually upon pretense of Peace and talk [to] you until you are Mad, and as soon as these are gott home, the Jesuits have another project if you will break your Cranes [craniums?] with such things; we advise you brethren when the French comes again, lett them smoak their pipe and give them their bellyfull of Victualls and lett them goe."

The Dutch emissaries of the English on this occasion heard Joncaire take the Indians roundly to task because they promised more than they performed in the matter of returning prisoners. He spoke as one who had nothing to fear, and consequently his words had weight. After some days of it, "Monsieur Jonkeur went his wayes," says the English record, and the Dutchmen went back to Albany, their chief concern being, as from the first, to secure the trade of the Five Nations to themselves. Their plans for that trade, even at this period, involved the control of the Niagara River.

II. JONCAIRE AMONG THE SENECA—A ROYAL MISSION.

From further worry over the friendship of the Iroquois, Callières was spared by death, May 26, 1703; and a new and stronger Onontio took his place at the head of the administration in Canada. This was the Chevalier de Vaudreuil, whose part in the history of our region is to continue important for many years.

Like his predecessor, he had had experience with the Seneca in his native wilds. As we have seen, Vaudreuil had come out from France just in time to join Denonville's expedition of 1687. He shared in that inglorious campaign, coming to the Niagara at its close, and helped to build the fort which was destined to be the scene of one of the most tragic episodes in the history of French occupancy in America. Vaudreuil's personal knowledge of the Niagara pass had no doubt its influence in shaping his policy towards the Iroquois. In a letter to the minister, Pontchartrain, Nov. 14, 1703, his first communication after the death of Callières, he speaks of Joncaire's recent return from a three months' sojourn among the Senecas, and declares the intention of sending him back to winter among them. This he did, but at the first breaking up of the ice in the spring, Joncaire appeared at Fort Frontenac with the news that the English were preparing to hold a general meeting of the Iroquois at Onondaga.

The neutrality of the Five Nations had now become the chief object of solicitude for the French. Joncaire was speedily sent back to the Senecas, and with him the priest Vailant, that their combined efforts might defeat the seductive overtures of the English. Once more at Onondaga, the great capital of the Iroquois, he met his old adversary, Peter Schuyler. The Indians were as ready to listen to overtures from one party as the other. This attitude alarmed the French. Joncaire posted off to Quebec to inform Vaudreuil, and was sent back with messages to Ramezay, at Montreal.

Under the sanction of the French at this time Indian parties fell upon certain New England settlements with dire results. We must accord to Joncaire a share in the instigation of these attacks. He was also an intermediary in negotiations with the Senecas, regarding an attack upon them by the Ottawas; we find him writing to the Governor, from the Seneca capital, under date of July 7, 1705, that "the partisans of the English in these villages do all in their power to induce the young men to avenge the attack made by Outtaouais on them, and that they are restrained only

by the hope of recovering their prisoners, and by the proceedings they have seen me adopt."

The King and his ministers at Versailles came to have great interest in the peculiar services rendered by Joncaire. "His Majesty," wrote Pontchartrain to Vaudreuil, June 9, 1706, "approves your sending *Sieur Jonquieres* to the Iroquois, because he is esteemed by them and has not the reputation of a Trader. . . . I have no doubt of the truth of the information *Sieur Jonquieres* has given you respecting the intrigues of the English among the Iroquois. Continue to order him to occupy himself with breaking them up, and on your part, give the subject all the attention it deserves."

There is among the Paris Documents⁸ of the year 1706, a paper entitled: "Proposals to be submitted to the Court that it may understand the importance of taking possession of Niagara at the earliest date, and of anticipating the English who design to do so," etc. It is unsigned. It does not appear to have been written either by Vaudreuil or the Intendant, though it was probably by the order of the former that it was sent to Versailles. It shows that now, seventeen years after the abandonment of Denonville's enterprise, the expediency of again attempting a permanent establishment on the Niagara was being considered. It is worth while to note the principal points in favor of the proposition, as they were drafted for the edification of the King.

Niagara was claimed to be the best of all points for trade with the Iroquois. It would serve as an entrepôt to the establishment at Detroit. With a bark on Lake Ontario, goods could be brought from Fort Frontenac to the Niagara in a couple of days, thus effecting a great saving in time, with less risk of loss, than by the existing canoe transportation. "It is to be considered," argues this document, "that by this establishment we should have a fortress among the Iroquois which would keep them in check; a refuge for our Indian allies in case of need, and a barrier that would pre-

8. N. Y. Col. Docs., IX, 773-775.

vent them going to trade with the English, as they begin to do this year, it being the place at which they cross."

The foregoing statement fixes, if not exactly the date at which traders in the English interest made themselves a factor on the Niagara, at any rate the date when the French began to think they had, and seriously to fear them. In this crisis, they turned to Joncaire, whom the writer of these "Proposals" cites as "an officer of the marine forces in Canada, who has acquired such credit among the Iroquois, that they have repeatedly proposed and actually do suggest to him, to establish himself among them, granting him liberty to select on their territory the place most acceptable to himself, for the purpose of living there in peace, and even to remove their villages to the neighborhood of his residence, in order to protect him against their common enemies." This was no doubt true, and goes far to show how closely affiliated with the Senecas Joncaire had now become. But the proposition that follows is a singularly guileless and child-like specimen of statecraft.

It was urged that the English would take no alarm if this good friend of the Senecas, this soldier who lived with the Indians in their lodges, should go to the banks of the Niagara "without noise, going there as a private individual intending simply to form an establishment for his family, at first bringing only the men he will require to erect and fortify his dwelling, and afterwards on pretence of conveying supplies and merchandise there, increasing their number insensibly, and when the Iroquois would see that goods would be furnished them at a reasonable rate, far from insulting us, they would protect and respect us, having no better friends than those who supply them at a low rate." The document goes on to show how a monopoly of the beaver trade at Niagara may be secured, and to discuss the necessity of underselling the English, a thing which the French at this period could not do, especially in the price of powder and lead, which the English furnished very cheaply to the Indians.

It is suggested in the "Proposals" that the King "grant ten or twelve thousand weight of gunpowder and twenty or thirty thousand weight of lead, which would be yearly reimbursed to him at the rate his Majesty purchases it from the contractor. This would counterbalance the price of the English article; and then as our powder is better, we would thereby obtain the preference; become masters of the trade and maintain ourselves at peace; for it cannot be doubted that those who will be masters of the trade will be also masters of the Indians, and that these can be gained only in this way."

All of this was to be accomplished by Joncaire's clandestine establishment at Niagara. The King was reminded, somewhat presumptuously, that the Niagara enterprise, on a liberal scale, "would be of much greater advantage and less expense than carrying on a war against Indians excited by the English." Though obviously true, this was hardly the way in which to win favor with the war-racked Louis. The "Proposals" conclude as follows:

"After having exposed the necessity of the establishment of this post; the means of effecting it without affording any umbrage to the Iroquois, and the most certain means to maintain peace and union with the Indians, it remains for me to add, as respects the management of this enterprise, that it would be necessary to prevent all the improper Commerce hitherto carried on, by the transportaion of Brandy into the forest, which has been the cause of all existing disorders and evils. In order to avoid these it would be proper, that the Court, had it no other views, should give the charge of this business to our Governor and Intendant who in order to maintain the King's authority in Canada and to labor in concert for the public peace, would always so coöperate that the whole would be accomplished in a manner profitable to religion, trade and the union with the Indians, which are the three objects of this establishment."

There is in this a suggestion of priestly authorship. The whole document smacks more of the clerical theorist than of the soldier, the trader or the practical administrator of

affairs. Its recommendations were not followed, though it had its effect, along with other causes, in bringing about an investigation into the state of affairs, not only on the Niagara, but at other points of trade on the lakes.

Louis XIV. was by no means satisfied with the information he received through regular channels regarding the condition and prospects of the lake posts. He accordingly devised a plan for a fuller and more trustworthy report. Under date of June 30, 1707, instructions were sent from Versailles to M. de Clerambaut d'Aigremont at Quebec, imposing upon him a task which called for no little perspicacity and tact. This gentleman, who was serving as sub-delegate to the Intendant, the *Sieur Raudot*, was directed to visit Fort Cataracouy (i. e., Frontenac, now Kingston, Ont.), Niagara, Detroit and Missilimackinac, "to verify their present condition, the trade carried on there and the utility they may be to the Colony of Canada." The letter of instructions was long and explicit on many delicate matters regarding which the King wanted light. The administration of La Motte Cadillac at Detroit was especially to be inquired into, as many complaints and contradictory reports had reached the Court. Of Niagara the letter of instructions said:

"His Majesty is informed that the English are endeavoring to seize the post at Niagara, and that it is of very great importance for the preservation of Canada to prevent them so doing, because were they masters of it, they would bar the passage and obstruct the communication with the Indian allies of the French, whom as well as the Iroquois they would attract to them by their trade, and dispose, whenever they please, to wage war on the French. This would desolate Canada and oblige us to abandon it.

"It is alleged that this post of Niagara could serve as an entrepôt to the establishment at Detroit, and facilitate intercourse with it by means of a bark on Lake Ontario; that in fine, such a post is of infinite importance for the maintenance of the Colony of Canada, and that it can be accomplished by means of *Sieur de Joncaire* whom M. de Vau-

dreuil keeps among the Iroquois. His Majesty desires *Sieur d'Aigremont* to examine on the spot whether the project be of as great importance for that colony as is pretended, and, in such case, to inquire with said *Sieur de Joncaire*, whether it would be possible to obtain the consent of the Iroquois to have a fort and garrison there, and conjointly, make a very detailed report of the means which would be necessary to be used to effect it, and of the expense it would require; finally to ascertain whether it would be desirable that he should have an interview with said *Sieur Joncaire*, and that they should have a meeting at Niagara."

Word had reached Louis, which he was loth to accept, that *Vaudreuil* kept *Joncaire* among the Iroquois for the purpose of carrying on profitable trade with them, and of destroying the establishment at Detroit. Not the least difficult commission with which *d'Aigremont* was charged was to inform himself as to *Joncaire's* conduct, and report thereon.

There were further instructions, in a letter from the minister, *Pontchartrain*, July 13th; but for some reason, probably because the season was far advanced, *d'Aigremont* did not undertake his mission until the following summer. On June 5, 1708, he set out from Montreal in a large canoe, amply provisioned but carrying no merchandise for trade. It was in fact the King's express; and so well did his sturdy men ply their paddles, up the swift St. Lawrence, through the tortuous channels of the Thousand Isles, coasting the uncertain lakes—fickle seas even in midsummer—making the great carry around the cataract of Niagara, and hastening by lake and river, that they accomplished the journey as far as *Missilimackinac*, stopping at the designated points long enough to observe and take testimony, and were back again at Montreal, September 12th. *D'Aigremont's* report, addressed to *Pontchartrain*, is dated November 14th; so that, allowing an average passage to France, more than a year and a half elapsed from the day when the King made known his will regarding a special investigation into the lake posts, till he received the report of his emissary.

That report is a document of exceptional value for the exact data it affords. At Fort Frontenac, where Capt. de Tonty was in command, d'Aigremont took the depositions of Indian chiefs and other principal men, much of it tending to show that Tonty pursued an arbitrary and selfish policy in his dealings both with Indian hunters and French soldiers; "yet it is to be remarked," writes the King's reporter, "that notwithstanding all these petty larcenies, Mr. de Tonty is deeply in debt; an evident proof that they have not done him much good. What may have driven him to it is, the numerous family he is burdened with, which is in such poor condition as to excite pity." After pointing out the difficulty of keeping the Indians from carrying their peltries to the English, and the advisability of maintaining and strengthening Frontenac, d'Aigremont goes on to tell of his visit at Niagara.

He had left Fort Frontenac on June 20, 1708, and on the 27th rounded the point that marks the mouth of the Niagara; it had taken him a week to follow the north and west shores of the lake from Tonty's disturbed establishment. Joncaire had been appraised of his coming. "I found him," writes d'Aigremont, "at the site of the former fort." "After conversing some time respecting this post, he admitted, My Lord, that the advantages capable of being derived from it, by fortifying it and placing a garrison there, would be, namely—that a number of Iroquois would separate from all their villages, and establish themselves there, by whose means we could always know what would be going on in those Villages and among the English, and that it would be thereby easy to obviate all the expeditions that could be organized against us.

"That the Iroquois would trade off there all the moose, deer and bear skins, they might bring, as these peltries could not be transported to the English except by land, and consequently with considerable trouble.

"That the Mississaguets settled at Lake Ste. Claire, who also convey a great many peltry to the English, will not fail in like manner to trade off their moose, deer and bear-skins there.

"That the Miamis having, like the Mississaguets, demanded by a Belt of the Iroquois a passage through their country to Orange to make their trade, would not fail to sell likewise at Niagara the skins that are difficult of transportation by land, and this more particularly as the English esteem them but little. But, My Lord, these considerations appear to me of little importance in comparison with the evil which would arise from another side. This would be, that all the Beaver brought thither by any nations whatsoever would pass to the English by means of their low-priced druggets, which they would have sold there by the Iroquois without our being ever able to prevent them, unless by selling the French goods at the same rate as the English dispose of theirs, which cannot be.

"It is true that this post could be of some consideration in respect to Detroit to which it could serve as an entrepôt for all the goods required for purposes of trade there, which could be conveyed from Fort Frontenac to Niagara by bark; a vessel of forty tons being capable of carrying as many goods as twenty canoes. Though these goods could, by this means, be afforded at Detroit at a much lower rate than if carried by canoes to Niagara, the prices would be still much higher than those of the English. This, therefore, would not prevent them drawing away from Detroit all the Beaver that would be brought there.

"The post of Niagara cannot be maintained except by establishing that of La Galette [on the St. Lawrence, a little below present Ogdensburg], because the soil of Fort Frontenac being of such a bad quality, is incapable of producing the supplies necessary for the garrison, its last one having perished only from want of assistance, as they almost all died of the scurvy."

D'Aigremont discussed at length the advisability of creating an establishment at La Galette as a base of supplies for Niagara; but he did not think a post could be established at Niagara at this time with entire success: "At least great precautions would [need be] taken at the present time, and whoever would propose an extensive establishment there

at once would not fail to be opposed by the Iroquois. Such cannot be arranged with them except by means of Mr. de Longueuil or of Sieur Joncaire, one or other of whom could propose to settle among them at that point, as the Iroquois look on these two officers as belonging to their nation. But my Lord," d'Aigremont significantly adds, "the former would be preferable to the latter because there is not a man more adroit than he or more disinterested. I do not say the same of the other, for I believe his greatest study is to think of his private business, and private business is often injurious to public affairs, especially in this colony, as I have had occasion frequently to remark."

D'Aigremont thought there was so little prospect that the post of Niagara could be established, that he did not take the trouble to report an estimate of the expense such a project would incur; but bearing in mind the King's remarks regarding the motives which led Vaudreuil to keep Joncaire among the Iroquois, he replied to this point as follows:

"I do not think the Iroquois will suffer the English even to take possession of that post [Niagara], because if they were masters of it, they could carry on all the trade independent of the former, which does not suit them.

"The Marquis de Vaudreuil sends Sieur de Joncaire every year to the Iroquois. He draws from the King's stores for these Indians powder, lead and other articles to the value of 2,000 livres, or thereabouts, which he divides among the Five Nations as he considers best. Some there are who believe that he does not give them all, and that he sells a portion to them; or at least that he distributes it to them as if it were coming from himself, thereby to oblige these Indians to make him presents. What's certain is, that he brings back from those parts a great many peltries. I am assured that they reach fully 1000 annually; in the last voyage he made, he brought down two canoes full of them. He left one of them at the head of the Island of Montreal [*"bont de l'isle"*], and had the peltries carted in through the night. As for the rest, My Lord, I do not know whether the Marquis de Vaudreuil has any share in this trade."

The Minister acknowledged this report in due time. Writing from Versailles, July 6, 1709, he said: "In regard to the post of Niagara, it is not expedient under any circumstances; and as there is no apprehension that the Iroquois will take possession thereof, it is idle to think of it. Therefore we shall not require either *Sieur Longueil*, or *Sieur Joncaire* [*sic*] for that"; and he added that he would have the latter "watched in what relates to the avidity he feels to enrich himself out of the presents the King makes these Indians, so as to obviate this abuse in future." Even though Joncaire were chargeable with undue thrift, Pontchartrain evidently felt that he was by all odds the best man to manage the Iroquois in the French interest.

We here encounter for the first time insinuations against the character of Joncaire. In the King's service, he was charged with using his opportunities to enrich himself. There are many allusions to this not very surprising matter, from now on. He continued for several years to come, in much the same employment as that which we have noted. He never lost the confidence of Vaudreuil—possibly, as the foregoing correspondence may have suggested to the reader, because they were allied for personal profit in a surreptitious fur-trade. In November, 1708, we find the Governor commending him in a letter to the Minister. "*Sieur de Joncaire*," he writes, "possesses every quality requisite to ensure success. He is daring, liberal, speaks the [*Seneca*] language in great perfection, hesitates not even whenever it is necessary to decide. He deserves that your Grace should think of his promotion, and I owe him this justice, that he attaches himself with great zeal and affection to the good of the service."

Joncaire at this period, 1708-9, was much of the time at Onondaga, doing what he could to counterbalance English influence. This was a task which yearly grew more and more difficult. Although Joncaire to the end of his days retained the good will of the Iroquois, and especially of the Senecas, he saw the hold of the French upon them gradually weakened, the temptations of English trade gradually and effectively strengthened.

Meanwhile, there came a critical time. Schuyler and others in English interests, were very active at Onondaga; reports reached Vaudreuil that the Iroquois were declaring against the French, that troops were about setting out from Fort Orange to strike a blow. The French missionaries, Lamberville and Mareuil, were frightened or cajoled into leaving. A party of drunken Indians burned the chapel and priest's house at Onondaga, being set on thereto, the French believed, by Schuyler. Joncaire and his soldiers were at Sodus Bay, some forty-five miles away, when this happened. He sent word of it, June 14, 1709, by canoe to M. de la Fresnière, commanding at Frontenac. His letter⁹ shows that he was thoroughly alarmed for the safety of himself and men. Regaining his assurance, he went back to the Senecas.

Just before this, his men had killed one Montour, a Frenchman among the Senecas, as alleged, in the English interest. Joncaire's return to the Senecas at this time won for him more warm praise from Vaudreuil, who wrote to Pontchartrain that Joncaire, "by his return to the Senecas, has given evidence of all the firmness that is to be expected from a worthy officer who has solely in view the good of his

9. The letter referred to, sent from Sodus Bay ("Bay of the Cayugas") to M. de la Fresnière, commanding at Fort Frontenac, is one of the few documents written by Joncaire known to be in existence. Its phraseology helps us form a just idea of the writer, who expresses himself, not as a rough woods-ranger might, but as one accustomed to letters and good society. This letter, as printed in N. Y. Col. Docs., IX, 838, is as follows:

BAY OF THE CAYUGAS, 14 June, 1709.

SIR—Affairs are in such confusion here that I do not consider my soldiers safe. I send them to you to await me at your fort, because should things take a bad turn for us, I can escape if alone more readily than if I have them with me. It is not necessary, however, to alarm Canada yet, as there is no need to despair. I shall be with you in twenty or twenty-five days at farthest, and if I exceed that time, please send my canoe to Montreal. Letters for the General will be found in my portfolio, which my wife will take care to deliver to him. If, however, you think proper to forward them sooner, St. Louis will hand them to you. But I beg of you that my soldiers may not be the bearers of them, calculating with certainty to find them with you when I arrive, unless I exceed twenty-five days.

The Revd. Father de Lamberville has placed us in a terrible state of embarrassment by his flight. Yesterday, I was leaving for Montreal in the best possible spirits. Now, I am not certain if I shall ever see you again.

I am, sir and dear friend, your most humble and most obedient servant,
DE JONCAIRE.

Majesty's service." Later this year Joncaire went to Montreal with Father d'Heu and a French blacksmith who had been for some years in the Seneca villages, and a band of some forty Senecas as escort.

In July, 1710, the French took alarm lest the Iroquois should join the English in a threatened expedition against Canada. Longueuil and Joncaire, with ten other Frenchmen and some Indians, hastened to Onondaga, where the French, through Joncaire, as interpreter, made an exceedingly vigorous harangue, threatening the Indians with dire vengeance if they shared in the hostile movement. "If you do," said Joncaire (as reported in the English documents), "we will not only come ourselves, but sett the farr Nations upon you to destroy you your wives and Children Root & Branch. . . . Be quiett and sett still." There was a divided sentiment in this council, but finally the French influence appeared to prevail, though a delegation of Indians soon appeared in Albany to inform Governor Robert Hunter of all that Joncaire had said, and to receive English assurances of friendship. On the other hand, a little later, Vaudreuil reported the matter to the Minister.¹⁰ He begged of M^rsigneur Ponchartrain that he specially remember the services of Joncaire and Longueuil, "who expose themselves to being burnt alive, for the preservation of the country in keeping peace with the Iroquois, who without them would inevitably make war." Joncaire, he added, has the same influence among the Senecas that Longueuil has with the Onondagas. Notwithstanding that Joncaire, the preceding summer, "was obliged to stay among them, and to send back his soldiers, in fear lest they would be put in the kettle, exposing himself alone to the caprice of these people in order to endeavor to keep the peace," yet he still continued to receive their favor, "as if himself a Seneca." At this time, the French flattered themselves that they could count on the friendship of all of the Five Nations except the Mohawks, who were most under English influence.

We find Joncaire, in September, carrying messages from M. de Ramezay, commandant at Frontenac, to Vaudreuil at

10. Vaudreuil to Ponchartrain, Nov. 30, 1710.

Montreal. It was from Joncaire that the Governor received the first intelligence of the preparations which the English were making at Boston and elsewhere, to attack Canada.

When Ramezay, in 1710, marched against the English, Joncaire commanded the Iroquois from Sault St. Louis and the Mountain, who made up the rear of the army; and he was probably with Vaudreuil, in September of that year in the advance to Chambly in quest of the English. More urgent matters in the East for a time withdrew the attention of Government from the Niagara and its problems. Still, no emergency could arise which could make Vaudreuil forgetful of the Iroquois.

III. JONCAIRE WINS ENGLISH ENMITY.

For the next few years Joncaire continued to go back and forth between Montreal, where he acted as interpreter, and the Seneca villages, where he was supposed to be at work to offset the influences of the English, chiefly as made manifest through Peter Schuyler. We find record that he was among the Senecas in 1710 and again in 1711.

At a great war-banquet in Montreal, in August, 1711, at which 700 or 800 warriors assembled, "Joncaire and la Chauvignerie first raised the hatchet and sang the war-song in Ononthio's name." This was on receipt of the news that the English were preparing to attack Quebec. Many of the Indians answered the cry of the warlike Joncaire with applause, only the Indians from the upper country hesitating, because they had, almost all, been trading with the English; but in the end, twenty Detroit Hurons taking up the hatchet, all who were present declared for the French. The incident shows of what great value Joncaire was to the cause of the French at this critical time, in holding for them the good will of the Iroquois and tribes to the westward.

The next year, 1712, he was for a time in command at Fort Frontenac, in place of the Sieur de la Fresnière, who was incapacitated by fever. At this time the Senecas were much disturbed over matters to the westward. They feared,

in the event of an outbreak against Detroit or by the tribes at the Sault, that they would be beset on the Niagara side. They sent a large delegation to Montreal, but declared to Vaudreuil "that they should not speak unless *Sieur de Joncaire* were present." That officer arrived from Fort Frontenac in September. We have not the details of the conference that followed; but the Senecas made their usual pledges of confidence in the French. At the same time, other tribes assembled at Onondaga were showing decided preference for the English, and sending word to the Indians at the Sault, requesting them "to remain passive on their mats, and not to take any sides," whatever might happen.

For the next few years I find little trace of *Joncaire*; but there is no reason to suppose that he did not continue in the same service as for the preceding years.

By his influence among the Iroquois, *Joncaire* was enabled to render a peculiar service in the summer of 1715. The post of Michilimackinac was distressed through lack of provisions. An appeal was made to *Dubisson*, commanding at Detroit; but he sent word that the corn supply had run so short that he had been obliged to send the *Sieur Dupuy* to the *Miamis* to try to buy of them, but it was doubtful if they could supply enough. In this extremity *Ramezay* appealed to *Joncaire*, who went among his Iroquois friends in the villages of Central New York and bought 300 minots of corn—about 900 bushels. This he made the Indians carry to the shore of Lake Ontario, some twenty leagues from the place of purchase. There it was loaded into the canoes for *Capt. Deschaillons* and dispatched to the distressed post; but all of this occasioned such delays that a hundred Frenchmen and Canadians were allowed to leave Mackinac and go down to Montreal to winter.

In the autumn of 1716, on his return to Montreal from the Iroquois cantons, *Lieut. de Longueuil* had called the attention of *MM. de Ramezay* and *Bégon* to the need of a "little establishment" "on the north [east] side of Niagara, on Lake Ontario, 100 leagues from the fort of Frontenac, a canoe journey of seven or eight days." Such a post, he

claimed, would attract the Missisagas and Amicoues to trade with the Iroquois, when the latter went to hunt in the vicinity of Lake Erie. He also proposed that a barque should be built to serve as a transport between Frontenac and Niagara, claiming that it would be a sure means of conciliating the Iroquois and of gaining a great part of the fur trade which now went to the English. With such a post at Niagara, it would be possible to keep the *coureurs de bois* from trading in Lake Ontario, either by seizing their goods or arresting the traders, who were working mischief for the traffic at Fort Frontenac. De Ramezay, in communicating these views to Vaudreuil, commented that if such a post were approved, the trade there should be kept to the King's account.¹¹ The Marquis de Vaudreuil would not agree to establish this post at Niagara until the Iroquois should ask for it. The council approved, granting permission to proceed as suggested, if the Senecas wished it. This proposed establishment was never built, but we have in Longueuil's suggestions another form of the project which some four years later was to take shape in the Magasin Royal at Lewiston, and nearly ten years later in the permanent foundation of Fort Niagara. Due recognition must be taken of Longueuil's foresight at this time. Apparently to him, and not to Joncaire, is due the suggestion which later ripened into the Niagara establishment. Though employed for many years in similar service, the one among the Onondagas, the other with the Senecas, and though equally commended, in despatches to the Minister, for their zeal and sagacity, a certain distinction attaches to Longueuil and his part in our history, which is not shared by Joncaire; a distinction due no doubt to family and social standing, rather than to native ability or devotion to the service.

October 24, 1717, at a conference, apparently held at Onondaga, the Senecas made the surprising inquiry, if Joncaire were not among them "only as a Spy." He had spent the winter of 1716-17 in the Senecas' country. In

11. MM. de Ramezay and Bégon, at Quebec, to the Council of Marine, Paris, Nov. 7, 1716.

spite of his affiliation and long-standing friendship with the Senecas, "a rumor prevailed that he had been sent thither to amuse them whilst preparations were being made to march against them in the Spring."¹² This suspicion of Joncaire was undoubtedly due to the influence of the English, which by this time had become predominant among the eastern Indians of the Federation. Even the Senecas were wavering and doubtful. Joncaire, when charged with being a spy, "did all in his power to disabuse them; but though highly esteemed among and even adopted by them, he could not succeed in removing their suspicion, for at the moment of his departure for Montreal, they sent a chief of high character with him to know from him whether it were true that he designed to attack them."

So reads the somewhat obscure document. The object of the embassy to Montreal was obviously to learn, not from Joncaire but from Vaudreuil, if any steps were to be taken hostile to the Senecas. Later, a delegation of chiefs and forty others arrived and were given audience by Vaudreuil. With elaborate ceremony they bewailed the death of the old King,¹³ gave to Vaudreuil a belt which they begged he would send to the young King, whom they asked to take them under his protection; and did not omit the usual request at these conferences, that Joncaire, the de Longueuils, father and son, and De la Chauvignerie, "Should be allowed to go into their villages whenever they would wish to do so, or should be invited by their nations. They added, that they were fully aware that there were some people (meaning the English) whom this would not please, but no notice must be taken of such; that they were the masters of their own country, and wished their children to be likewise its masters, and to go thither freely whenever M. de Vaudreuil should permit them." This declaration of mastery in their own country illustrates anew the unstable

12. Proceedings in the Council of the Marine, June 25, 1718, signed L. A. de Bourbon and Le Maréchal D'Estrées. The document is marked: "To be taken to my Lord the Duke of Orleans." See N. Y. Col. Docs., IX, 876-878.

13. Louis XIV. had died Sept. 1, 1715.

and bewildered state of mind in which the Five Nations then were. Some years since, they had formally deeded their country to William III.; and on more than one occasion they had acknowledged the authority of the French.

In June, Alphonse de Tonty left Montreal for Detroit, at which post he had been granted the privilege of trade, on condition that he would confine his operations to the jurisdiction of Detroit, nor send goods for sale to distant tribes. In crossing Lake Ontario, on his way to Niagara, he met nine canoes, all going to Albany to trade. Three were from Mackinac, three from Detroit and three from Saginaw. Tonty endeavored to head off this prospective trade for the English, and succeeded so well, heightening his arguments by substantial presents, that they all agreed not to go to Albany, but to go with him to Detroit.

Two days later, when this imposing flotilla was within six miles of Niagara, they fell in with seventeen canoes, full of Indians and peltries. In reply to his inquiries, these also admitted that they were going to Albany to trade, though they added that they were coming to Detroit afterwards. Tonty was equal to the emergency. Inspired by self-interest as well as loyalty to his government, "he induced them also to abandon their design, by the promise that the price of merchandise at Detroit should be diminished, and he would also give them some brandy."¹⁴ There followed a judicious distribution of this potent commodity.

One is tempted to conjure up the scene. Here were twenty-six laden canoes, not counting Tonty's own boats. They had come long journeys from remote and widely separated points, and their one objective point was the Englishmen's trading-place on the Hudson. But no sooner do they come under the blandishments of the Frenchman, and scent the aroma of his brandy-kegs, then these long-cherished plans so arduously followed, are thrown to the winds. They beach their canoes at or near the point of Niagara. A cask of liquor is broached, and Tonty permits the thirsty savages

¹⁴. Report of L. A. de Bourbon, secretary, Council of Marine, Oct. 12, 1717.

"to buy two or three quarts of brandy each, to take to their villages. But they first agreed that it should be carefully distributed by a trusty person."

In spite of these reassuring precautions, the transaction seems somewhat to have burdened his mind, for he thought it well to explain that "he hoped the council would not disapprove of what he had done, nor of the continuance of the same course, as he had no other intention than merely to hinder the savages from going to the English."

He succeeded fairly well in that purpose. After the distribution of brandy, they all reëmbarked, seven of the canoes promising to go to Montreal. Tonty sent back with them his trusty interpreter, L'Oranger, to keep them from changing their minds as they paddled down the lake. "He was only able to conduct six of them to Montreal; the seventh escaped and went to Orange."

Meanwhile ten canoes joined the commandant's own retinue; all paddled swiftly up the Niagara to the old landing, made the toilsome portage around the falls and pushed on together for Detroit, where they arrived July 3d. It was a typical move in the game that was being played, and France had gained the point.

This expedition was notable for its use of the Niagara route. Only a few years before we find Vaudreuil explaining to the Minister that he dispatched the *Sieur de Lignery* to Mackinac, and *Louvigny* to Detroit, by the Ottawa-river route, because the Senecas had warned him that a band of Foxes lay in wait for plunder at the Niagara portage, or on Lake Erie.¹⁵ If this were not duplicity on the part of the Senecas, it shows that war parties from the West foraged as far east as the Niagara; notwithstanding the supposed jealousy with which the Senecas guarded it.

15. Vaudreuil to the Minister, Oct. 15, 1712. In a subsequent letter, Nov. 6, 1712, Vaudreuil speaks of the band of *Otagamis* (*i. e.* *Outagamis*, otherwise Foxes or Sacs), led by one *Vonnere*, who lay in wait at the Niagara portage, so that an expedition for Detroit led by *M. de Vincennes* was sent by the Ottawa River route, "not only to avoid these savages, but to prevent the convoy from being pillaged by the *Iroquois*," etc. The name "*Vonnere*" is found elsewhere in the more probable form "*Le Tonnerre*," *i. e.*, "*Thunderbolt*."

Again we lose sight of Joncaire for a time; but the events of 1720, a date of great importance in the history of the Niagara, indicate that he was long busy with plans for giving the French a foothold on the river, and that even his Seneca friends had increasing cause to regard him with suspicion.

The attention of the Government was turning more seriously than ever before, to the Niagara passage as a means of reaching the upper posts. A "Memoir on the Indians of Canada, as far as the River Mississippi, with remarks on their manners and trade," dated 1718, affords an interesting glimpse of our river at that period:

"The Niagara portage is two leagues and a half to three leagues long, but the road, over which carts roll two or three times a year, is very fine, with very beautiful and open woods through which a person is visible for a distance of 600 paces. The trees are all oaks, and very large. The soil along the entire [length] of that road is not very good. From the landing, which is three leagues up the river, four hills are to be ascended. Above the first hill there is a Seneca village of about ten cabins, where Indian corn, beans, peas, watermelons and pumpkins are raised, all which are very fine. These Senecas are employed by the French, from whom they earn money by carrying the goods of those who are going to the upper country; some for mitasses,¹⁶ others for shirts, some for powder and ball, whilst some others pilfer; and on the return of the French, they carry their packs of furs for some peltry. This portage is made for the purpose of avoiding the Cataract of Niagara, the grandest sheet of water in the world, having a perpendicular fall of two or three hundred feet. This fall is the outlet of Lakes Erié, Huron, Michigan, Superior, and consequently of the numberless rivers discharging into these lakes, with the names of which I am not acquainted. The Niagara portage having been passed, we ascend a river six leagues

16. According to O'Callaghan, this is another instance of the adoption of Indian words by Europeans. *Mitass* is not a French but an Algonquin word for stockings or leggings, in the "Vocabulary" of La Hontan, II, 223.

in length and more than a quarter of a league in width, in order to enter Lake Erié, which is not very wide at its mouth. The route by the Southern, is much finer than that along the Northern shore. The reason that few persons take it is, that it is thirty leagues longer than that along the north. There is no need of fasting on either side of this lake, deer are to be found there in such great abundance; buffaloes are found on the South, but not on the North shore."

This valuable Memoir, long and full of explicit information regarding the lake region, and the country and peoples to the west as far as the Mississippi, is of unknown authorship. It was probably written by some French officer assigned to a western post. As regards the Niagara, it antedates by three years the visit of the Jesuit Charlevoix, and it gives us our first information of Seneca settlement on the banks of the river. Although throughout these earlier years and for some time yet to come the Ottawa route was used more than the Niagara, yet there can be no doubt that, prior to 1720, many an expedition to the West had passed this way. Many a canoe, coming now singly, now in pairs, now in numbers, had no doubt carried the *coureur de bois*, and the trader with his merchandise, from Lake Ontario up the beautiful stretch of green water till stopped by the rapids in the gorge; had made the steep climb up those "mountains" and followed the well-worn path of the long portage until, in navigable water above the great cataract, a new embarkation could be made with safety. Many a voyageur, too, returning from the West, as messenger from one of the upper posts or with canoes laden with packets of skins, had no doubt braved the dangers and difficulties of the Iroquois route, that he might sooner reach Frontenac and the settlements down the St. Lawrence. Some of these expeditions we have traced; but when one studies the history of Detroit and Mackinac and the various establishments on Lake Michigan, and notes the frequent communication they kept up with Montreal, he can but conclude that, notwithstanding the known use of the Ottawa route, there must have been

many a hardy traveler on the Niagara of whose presence there is no more record in history than there is trace of his keel in the waters he traversed. Joncaire himself, known and welcomed throughout the country of the Senecas, was probably on the river many a time since his meeting with d'Aigremont, on the site of Fort Denonville; but not until 1720 do we find official record to that effect.

IV. THE HOUSE BY THE NIAGARA RAPIDS.

Early in May, 1720, Joncaire appeared at Fort Frontenac. The previous year, at the beginning of harvest, he had laden his canoe with trinkets, "small merchandizes," powder, lead, not forgetting the useful belts of wampum and the equally useful brandy, and had crossed over to the Long House of the Iroquois. Here, in the heart of our New York State, he had wintered, part of the time at the great Seneca village and part of the time at the little village.¹⁷

It was by the instructions of Vaudreuil and Begon that he made this sojourn, the design being that he should win for the French such favor that they might carry out undisturbed the orders which the Court had promulgated in 1718, namely, the building of magazines and stockaded houses at Niagara and other Lake Ontario points.

The winter had been well spent. He brought back with him to Frontenac not merely several bundles of peltries, but good tidings which a council was quickly summoned to hear. The Senecas were most favorably disposed towards their father Onontio, and to the uncle Sononchiez, by which name they had come affectionately to designate Joncaire.

17. In 1720 "the great Seneca village" was apparently at the White Springs, one and one half miles southwest of Geneva. It later removed to a location some two miles northwest of Geneva, where it was long famous as the Ga-nun-da-sá-ga of the Senecas, otherwise Kanadesaga. "The Seneca castle called Onahe," mentioned further on in our narrative, was at this period about three miles southeast from the present village of Canandaigua. These locations are in accordance with conclusions reached by the late George S. Conover of Geneva, than whom probably no one has made a more thorough study of the subject.

Missasagué otherwise called the Round Heads distant about thirty leagues from that of Niagara. The House at the bottom of the Lake¹⁹ was built by the Sieur de Anville a little after that of Niagara."²⁰ The Sieur Douville had built another house, for trade with the Ottawas, at the foot of the Bay of Quinté. "They leave to winter in all their new forts," says Chaplain Durant, "but one Store Keeper and two Soldiers." Here indeed, was service for the King, a living immurement in the wilderness; yet the careers of men like Joncaire show how alluring this forest life, in spite of all its hardships and hazard, proved to many a soldier of New France.

19. I. E., foot, west end. The allusion is probably to the trading-house at Toronto, with which Douville was more or less connected for some years. I find no statement in the documents showing that there was a trading-post at present Burlington Bay.

20. The builder of the trading-post at the head of Lake Ontario, the builder of the trading-post on the Bay of Quinté, and the officer who spent the winter of 1720-21 on the Niagara, are apparently the same man, variously designated in the printed documents as "the Sieur de Anville," "the Sieur D'Agneaux," and "the Sieur D'Ouille." The name is also to be found written "d'Auville" and "d'Agneaux." Some of these variants are doubtless due to illegible manuscript, or inaccurate copying. He appears to have been the same officer who, at a conference with the Iroquois at Quebec, Nov. 2, 1748, signed his name "Dagneaux Douville." He was a lieutenant in the detachment of marine troops serving in Canada. In 1750 he is spoken of as "Sieur Douville," commandant of Sault St. Louis; and in 1756, when he shared in another conference with Indians at Montreal, as "Lieut. Douville."

I find it impossible, from the allusions in the records, to be definite regarding French officers in the Canadian service, who are designated as "Douville." Philippe Dagneau Douville, Sieur de la Saussaye, born 1700, was commandant at Toronto in 1759. His brother, spoken of also as Sieur de la Saussaye, was at Niagara, *en route* for Detroit, in 1739. The latter appears to have been the Alexandre Dagneau Douville who served among the Miamis, 1747-48; who was sent out from Fort Duquesne in 1756, on a foraging expedition, and was killed the next year in an attack on a fort in Virginia. A "Douville" was second ensign under Capt. Duplissy in 1729; was with Villiers at Green Bay in 1730, in which year he married Marie Coulon de Villiers. "Douville" was also interpreter at Fort Frontenac in 1743. If, as seems probable, it was Philippe who was at the conference in Quebec in 1748—Alexandre being among the Miamis in that year—then it was probably Philippe whose connection with the trade on Lake Ontario is noted in the text. The confusion is increased by the record that in 1728 "Rouville la Saussaye" was the lessee of the trading-post at Toronto; but whether there is any relation between Rouville la Saussaye, the trader, and Douville de la Saussaye, the soldier, I leave for future determination, or those who may have more exact information in the matter.

Joncaire set out from Montreal, about the middle of October, 1720, to winter at Niagara. His two canoes were laden deep with goods from the King's storehouse. His escort numbered twelve soldiers, but at Frontenac six were left behind. There were evidently delays, at Frontenac or beyond, for as he skirted the south shore of Ontario his journey was stopped by ice thirty-five leagues from the Niagara. He put in at the Genesee and wintered there.

Into what extremity this failure of expected relief plunged the occupants of the bark cabin at the mouth of the Niagara gorge, we are not told. De la Corne does not appear to have wintered there, for Durant records that "the *Sieur D'Ouville* had stayed there alone with a soldier, waiting the *Sieur de Joncaire*." Probably the friendship of the Senecas preserved them, but Joncaire's failure to arrive in the fall with goods to trade kept the storehouse empty till spring, to the no small embarrassment of the French and disappointment of the Indians.

There exist of this episode, as of many others that form our history, two official accounts, one French, the other English. In the abstract of Messrs. de Vaudreuil and Bégon's report on Niagara for 1720, it is set forth that "the English had proposed to an Iroquois chief, settled at Niagara, to send horses thither from Orange, which is 130 leagues distant from it, for the purpose of transmitting goods, and to make a permanent settlement there, and offered to share with him whatever profits might accrue from the speculation. The English would, by such means, have been able to secure the greatest part of the peltries coming down the lakes from the upper countries; give employment not only to the Indians who go up there and return thence, but also to the French." The reader will note the delightful impudence of this last proposition. The report continues: "They [the French] have a store there well supplied with goods for the trade; and have, by means of the Indians, carried on there, up to the present time and since several years ago, a considerable trade in furs in barter

for merchandise and whisky.²¹ This establishment would have enabled them to purchase the greater part of the peltries both of the French and Indians belonging to the upper country." It is clear that the English were about to attempt an establishment on the Niagara, had not the French forestalled them.

It is not easy to reconcile the various dates, or lack of dates, in the English and French records of this establishment. It was on Oct. 26, 1719, that Vaudreuil sent Joncaire to carry to the Five Nations a favorable word from the King, and the presents above mentioned. He was charged to tell the Senecas that if the English came to Niagara they—the Senecas—should fall on them and seize their goods. It was agreed with Bégon that De la Corne the younger and an *engagé* should spend the winter of 1719-'20 on the Niagara, and that they were to open trade the following spring, on the Royal account. Their presence, it was argued, would keep the English away, and help the trade at Frontenac.

An Indian reported at Albany, in July, 1719, that the French were building at Niagara. He had been at the Seneca Castle called Onahe, within a day's journey of Niagara, and there met some Ottawas who had asked the French at Niagara, how they came to make a fort there without asking leave of the Five Nations; and the French had replied, "they had Built it of their Own Accord, without asking any Bodys Leave and Design'd to keep Horses and Carts there for Transportation of Goods," etc.²²

Either the date of the above is too early by a year, or it refers to a structure built some time in 1719, which was succeeded by the larger *Magazin Royal*, which, according to explicit accounts, both French and English, was built in the latter part of May, 1720. In the report sent by Vaudreuil and Bégon to the Minister, under date of Oct. 26, 1720, it is stated that "on the representation made by the *Sieur de Joncaire*, lieutenant of the troops, as to the importance

21. "*Eau de vie de grain.*"

22. N. Y. Col. MSS. in State Library, Albany, Vol. LXI., fol. 157.

of this post and of the quantity of furs which could be traded for there, they are making there a permanent establishment ("*un établissement sédentaire*"). We have charged him to have built there by the savages a picketed house ("*une maison de pieux*") to which [construction] he pledged them last spring." The same report recites the visit to the Senecas of Messrs. Schuyler and Livingston, their names appearing—grotesquely distorted, as is usually the case with English or Dutch names in the old French documents—as "*le Sr. Jean Schult, commandant, et le Sr. L. Euiston, maire à Orange*"! The bark house was obviously surrounded by palisades—a strong, high fence of sharpened stakes. If the text of the French report may be accepted, the Indians themselves bore a willing hand in its construction.

Durant's memorial makes no mention of a visit at Magazin Royal in behalf of the English, but there was one. The work on the bark house under the Niagara escarpment was no sooner begun than word of it was carried eastward through the lodges and villages of the Six Nations. In April of 1720, Myndert Schuyler and Robert Livingston, Jr., had set out from Albany for the Seneca Castle, to hold one of the conferences which the Commissioners of Indian Affairs so frequently ordered at this period. Here, May 16th, they took the Indians to task because the French "are now buissey at Onjagerae, which ought not to be Consented to or admitted." The English emissaries went on to remind their Seneca brethren of the promises that had been made "about twenty-two years agoe to secure their Lands and hunting Places westward of them . . . to the Crown of great Brittain to be held for you and Your Posterity." The French, they continued, "are now buissy at onjagera which in a Manner is the only gate you have to go through towards your hunteing places and the only way the farr Indians conveniently came through where Jean Coeurs [Joncaire] with some men are now at work on building a block house and no Doubt of a Garrison by the next Year whereby you will be so Infenced that no Room will be Left for you to hunt in with out Liberty wee know that in warr time they could

never overcome you, but these proceedings in building so near may be their Invented Intrigues to hush you to sleep whilst they take possession of the Heart of Your Country this is Plainly seen by us therefore desire you to Consider it rightly and sent [send] out to spy what they are doing at onjagera and prohibite Jean Coeur building there, for where they make Settlements they Endeavour to hold it so that if he takes no notice thereof, after given in a Civill way, further Complaints may be made to your brother Corlaer, who will Endeavour to make you Easy therein."

This ingenuous appeal having been emphasized, according to custom, by giving a belt of wampum, the sachems retired to think it over. Six days later—May 22d—the sachems of the Senecas, Cayugas and Oneidas assembled, and in behalf of their own peoples and of the Mohawks and Onondagas, spoke to the English delegates at length and with the customary Indian grandiloquence. Regarding the French intrusion at Niagara they said, in part:

"You have told us that you were Informed the French were building a house at Onjagera which As you perceive will prove prejudiciall to us & You. Its true they are Either yett building or it is finished by this time wee do owne that some Years agoe the Five Nations gave Trongsagroende Ierondoquet & onjagera and all other hunting Places westward to y^e Crowne to be held for us and our posterity Least other might Incroach on us then we also partition the hunting Places between us and the french Indians but since then they are gone farr within the Limits and the french got more by settling Trongsagroende and we must Joyne our Opinion with yours that if wee suffer the french to settle at onjagera, being the only way to ward hunting, wee will be altogether shut up and Debarred, of means for our lively hood then in deed our Posterity would have Reason to Reflect on us there fore to beginn in time wee will appoint some of our men to go thither to onjagera and Desire you to send one along so that in the name of the five Nations Jean Coeur may be acquainted with the Resolve of this Meeting and for biden to proceed any further building, but ordered to take down what's Erected."

Having thus confirmed the English in their assertions, and pledged their own friendship, the sachems through their spokesman gave the belt of wampum and passed on to other matters. At the end of the conference three chiefs were appointed to go to Niagara to expostulate with the French; and Messrs. Schuyler and Livingston deputed to go with them their Dutch interpreter, Lawrence Claessen.

This man, whose name in the old records is variously spelled Claessen, Clawsen, Clausen, Claese, Clase or Clace, acquires some importance in our record from the fact that he is the first representative of English interests known to have visited the Niagara in other than a clandestine way. With the exception of Roosboom and McGregorie and perhaps one or two others of their class, he is the first white man, not of France or in the French interest, known to have reached the region. Moreover he is a typical example of a class of men who at this period were indispensable alike to the English and French. He was an Indian interpreter, a go-between, the medium of communication between the English and the Indians. Though not a soldier, he was for his people in other ways the counterpart of Joncaire among the French; and although his experiences appear to have been less hazardous and romantic than were that adventurer's, yet his life, for a score of years before we find him at Niagara, had been successfully devoted to a calling which demanded exceptional knowledge and tact, and which brought no lack of arduous experiences.

As early as 1700 he was serving the English as interpreter in their councils and treaties with the Five Nations. He was apparently even then no novice at the trade, for the next year the Mohawks gave him about three acres on small islands in the Mohawk, in proof of their gratitude because of his fairness as an interpreter. He was a witness, July 19, 1701, to the deed by which the Five Nations conveyed their beaver-hunting grounds to King William. It is a strange document, containing among the attached signatures the pictographic devices of sachems of each of the five nations; and quit-claiming to the English Crown all the country of

the Iroquois south of Lakes Ontario and Huron, on both sides of Lake Erie and as far west as Lake Michigan, "including likewise," specifies the deed, "the great falls oakinagaro" [Niagara]. This vast area, 400 miles wide by 800 miles long, an empire in itself and now the seat of millions of people, the home of commerce and of culture, but then the wilderness which the Iroquois claimed as his hunting-ground, and because of its resources of fur the bone of contention between Europe's greatest powers, was absolutely given, with every rivet and clamp of legal verbiage which the language of the law, redundantly profuse then as now, could command—"freely and voluntarily surrendered delivered up and forever quit-claimed . . . unto our great Lord and Master the King of England called by us Corachkoo and by the Christians William the third and to his heires and successors Kings and Queens of England for ever." And the sole compensation for this transfer was to be liberty on the part of the Five Nations to hunt as they pleased in this domain, and to be protected by the English in the exercise of that right.

From this date on for many years Claessen continued to act in a confidential capacity and as interpreter. The colonial records afford many glimpses of him. In 1710 he was sent to the Senecas' country, "to y^e five Nations to watch y^e motions of y^e French & to perswade those Indians to give a free passage to y^e farr Indians through their Countrey to come here to Albany to trade."

On this mission, at Onondaga, July 17th, he encountered Longueuil and Joncaire. He was among the Indians at Onondaga again in the spring of 1711. Two years later we find him, with Heinrich Hanson and Capt. Johannes Bleeker, holding an important conference at the same great rendezvous.

Whenever the Indians went to Albany to confer—and that was often, at this period—Claessen was summoned to interpret. On such occasions, the communications from red men to Governor, or vice versa, were made through successive interpretations. Thus it was customary, on these

Their father and their uncle, their message ran, were masters of their land. "The Indians consented not only to the building of the House of Niagara but also engaged themselves to maintain it. And if the English should undertake to demolish it they must first take up the hatchet against the Cabanes of the two villages of the Sennekas."¹⁸ Such, at any rate, was the message as delivered to the delighted council.

No time was lost. In "10 or 12 days" a canoe was packed with goods: "Some pieces of Blew Cloth three dozen or thereabouts of white Blankets for the use of the Indians half a Barrell of Brandy &c"; and with eight soldiers and young De la Corne—son of Capt. De la Corne, Mayor of Montreal—the expedition set out gaily for our river. The season was propitious, the voyage short and successful. They entered the mouth of the Niagara and pressed on up the river to the head of navigation. Here, at the beginning of the portage on the east side of the gorge, where Lewiston now stands, "the Sieur de Joncaire & le Corne caused to be built in haste a kind of Cabbins of Bark where they displayed the Kings Colors & honored it with the name of the Magazin Royal."

Joncaire did not linger long, but went very soon to confirm his peace with the Senecas, leaving De la Corne in command. From the Senecas' village he hastened back to Frontenac. There he took into his canoe as *compagnon du voyage* John Durant, the chaplain of the fort, from whose memorial are drawn in part the data for this portion of our narrative. They voyaged together to Quebec, arriving September 3d, and Joncaire was granted early audience with Vaudreuil and the Intendant, to whom he told what he had done. Vaudreuil was pleased, and the next day bestowed upon him the title of Commandant at Niagara, and bade him hasten back to that precarious post. There was joined to this new dignity an order for the inspection of the magazine "established in the Lake of Ontario. This Magazine is situate on the west of the Lake for the Trade with the

¹⁸. Durant's Memorial, N. Y. Col. Docs., V, 588.

Missasagué otherwise called the Round Heads distant about thirty leagues from that of Niagara. The House at the bottom of the Lake¹⁹ was built by the Sieur de Anville a little after that of Niagara."²⁰ The Sieur Douville had built another house, for trade with the Ottawas, at the foot of the Bay of Quinté. "They leave to winter in all their new forts," says Chaplain Durant, "but one Store Keeper and two Soldiers." Here indeed, was service for the King, a living immurement in the wilderness; yet the careers of men like Joncaire show how alluring this forest life, in spite of all its hardships and hazard, proved to many a soldier of New France.

19. I. E., foot, west end. The allusion is probably to the trading-house at Toronto, with which Douville was more or less connected for some years. I find no statement in the documents showing that there was a trading-post at present Burlington Bay.

20. The builder of the trading-post at the head of Lake Ontario, the builder of the trading-post on the Bay of Quinté, and the officer who spent the winter of 1720-21 on the Niagara, are apparently the same man, variously designated in the printed documents as "the Sieur de Anville," "the Sieur D'Agneaux," and "the Sieur D'Ouville." The name is also to be found written "d'Auville" and "d'Agneaux." Some of these variants are doubtless due to illegible manuscript, or inaccurate copying. He appears to have been the same officer who, at a conference with the Iroquois at Quebec, Nov. 2, 1748, signed his name "Dagneaux Douville." He was a lieutenant in the detachment of marine troops serving in Canada. In 1750 he is spoken of as "Sieur Douville," commandant of Sault St. Louis; and in 1756, when he shared in another conference with Indians at Montreal, as "Lieut. Douville."

I find it impossible, from the allusions in the records, to be definite regarding French officers in the Canadian service, who are designated as "Douville." Philippe Dagneau Douville, Sieur de la Saussaye, born 1700, was commandant at Toronto in 1759. His brother, spoken of also as Sieur de la Saussaye, was at Niagara, *en route* for Detroit, in 1739. The latter appears to have been the Alexandre Dagneau Douville who served among the Miamis, 1747-48; who was sent out from Fort Duquesne in 1756, on a foraging expedition, and was killed the next year in an attack on a fort in Virginia. A "Douville" was second ensign under Capt. Duplissy in 1729; was with Villiers at Green Bay in 1730, in which year he married Marie Coulon de Villiers. "Douville" was also interpreter at Fort Frontenac in 1743. If, as seems probable, it was Philippe who was at the conference in Quebec in 1748—Alexandre being among the Miamis in that year—then it was probably Philippe whose connection with the trade on Lake Ontario is noted in the text. The confusion is increased by the record that in 1728 "Rouville la Saussaye" was the lessee of the trading-post at Toronto; but whether there is any relation between Rouville la Saussaye, the trader, and Douville de la Saussaye, the soldier, I leave for future determination, or those who may have more exact information in the matter.

Joncaire set out from Montreal, about the middle of October, 1720, to winter at Niagara. His two canoes were laden deep with goods from the King's storehouse. His escort numbered twelve soldiers, but at Frontenac six were left behind. There were evidently delays, at Frontenac or beyond, for as he skirted the south shore of Ontario his journey was stopped by ice thirty-five leagues from the Niagara. He put in at the Genesee and wintered there.

Into what extremity this failure of expected relief plunged the occupants of the bark cabin at the mouth of the Niagara gorge, we are not told. De la Corne does not appear to have wintered there, for Durant records that "the Sieur D'Ouville had stayed there alone with a soldier, waiting the Sieur de Joncaire." Probably the friendship of the Senecas preserved them, but Joncaire's failure to arrive in the fall with goods to trade kept the storehouse empty till spring, to the no small embarrassment of the French and disappointment of the Indians.

There exist of this episode, as of many others that form our history, two official accounts, one French, the other English. In the abstract of Messrs. de Vaudreuil and Bégon's report on Niagara for 1720, it is set forth that "the English had proposed to an Iroquois chief, settled at Niagara, to send horses thither from Orange, which is 130 leagues distant from it, for the purpose of transmitting goods, and to make a permanent settlement there, and offered to share with him whatever profits might accrue from the speculation. The English would, by such means, have been able to secure the greatest part of the peltries coming down the lakes from the upper countries; give employment not only to the Indians who go up there and return thence, but also to the French." The reader will note the delightful impudence of this last proposition. The report continues: "They [the French] have a store there well supplied with goods for the trade; and have, by means of the Indians, carried on there, up to the present time and since several years ago, a considerable trade in furs in barter

for merchandise and whisky.²¹ This establishment would have enabled them to purchase the greater part of the peltries both of the French and Indians belonging to the upper country." It is clear that the English were about to attempt an establishment on the Niagara, had not the French forestalled them.

It is not easy to reconcile the various dates, or lack of dates, in the English and French records of this establishment. It was on Oct. 26, 1719, that Vaudreuil sent Joncaire to carry to the Five Nations a favorable word from the King, and the presents above mentioned. He was charged to tell the Senecas that if the English came to Niagara they—the Senecas—should fall on them and seize their goods. It was agreed with Bégon that De la Corne the younger and an *engagé* should spend the winter of 1719-'20 on the Niagara, and that they were to open trade the following spring, on the Royal account. Their presence, it was argued, would keep the English away, and help the trade at Frontenac.

An Indian reported at Albany, in July, 1719, that the French were building at Niagara. He had been at the Seneca Castle called Onahe, within a day's journey of Niagara, and there met some Ottawas who had asked the French at Niagara, how they came to make a fort there without asking leave of the Five Nations; and the French had replied, "they had Built it of their Own Accord, without asking any Bodys Leave and Design'd to keep Horses and Carts there for Transportation of Goods," etc.²²

Either the date of the above is too early by a year, or it refers to a structure built some time in 1719, which was succeeded by the larger *Magazin Royal*, which, according to explicit accounts, both French and English, was built in the latter part of May, 1720. In the report sent by Vaudreuil and Bégon to the Minister, under date of Oct. 26, 1720, it is stated that "on the representation made by the *Sieur de Joncaire*, lieutenant of the troops, as to the importance

21. "*Eau de vie de grain.*"

22. N. Y. Col. MSS. in State Library, Albany, Vol. LXI., fol. 157.

of this post and of the quantity of furs which could be traded for there, they are making there a permanent establishment ("*un établissement sédentaire*"). We have charged him to have built there by the savages a picketed house ("*une maison de pieux*") to which [construction] he pledged them last spring." The same report recites the visit to the Senecas of Messrs. Schuyler and Livingston, their names appearing—grotesquely distorted, as is usually the case with English or Dutch names in the old French documents—as "*le Sr. Jean Schult, commandant, et le Sr. L. Euiston, maire à Orange*"! The bark house was obviously surrounded by palisades—a strong, high fence of sharpened stakes. If the text of the French report may be accepted, the Indians themselves bore a willing hand in its construction.

Durant's memorial makes no mention of a visit at Magazin Royal in behalf of the English, but there was one. The work on the bark house under the Niagara escarpment was no sooner begun than word of it was carried eastward through the lodges and villages of the Six Nations. In April of 1720, Myndert Schuyler and Robert Livingston, Jr., had set out from Albany for the Seneca Castle, to hold one of the conferences which the Commissioners of Indian Affairs so frequently ordered at this period. Here, May 16th, they took the Indians to task because the French "are now buissey at Onjagerae, which ought not to be Consented to or admitted." The English emissaries went on to remind their Seneca brethren of the promises that had been made "about twenty-two years agoe to secure their Lands and hunting Places westward of them . . . to the Crown of great Brittain to be held for you and Your Posterity." The French, they continued, "are now buissy at onjagera which in a Manner is the only gate you have to go through towards your hunteing places and the only way the farr Indians conveniently came through where Jean Coeurs [Joncaire] with some men are now at work on building a block house and no Doubt of a Garrison by the next Year whereby you will be so Infenced that no Room will be Left for you to hunt in with out Liberty wee know that in warr time they could

never overcome you, but these proceedings in building so near may be their Invented Intrigues to hush you to sleep whilst they take possession of the Heart of Your Country this is Plainly seen by us therefore desire you to Consider it rightly and sent [send] out to spy what they are doing at onjagera and prohibite Jean Coeur building there, for where they make Settlements they Endeavour to hold it so that if he takes no notice thereof, after given in a Civill way, further Complaints may be made to your brother Corlaer, who will Endeavour to make you Easy therein."

This ingenuous appeal having been emphasized, according to custom, by giving a belt of wampum, the sachems retired to think it over. Six days later—May 22d—the sachems of the Senecas, Cayugas and Oneidas assembled, and in behalf of their own peoples and of the Mohawks and Onondagas, spoke to the English delegates at length and with the customary Indian grandiloquence. Regarding the French intrusion at Niagara they said, in part:

"You have told us that you were Informed the French were building a house at Onjagera which As you perceive will prove prejudiciall to us & You. Its true they are Either yett building or it is finished by this time wee do owne that some Years agoe the Five Nations gave Trongsagroende Ierondoquet & onjagera and all other hunting Places westward to y^e Crowne to be held for us and our posterity Least other might Incroach on us then we also partition the hunting Places between us and the french Indians but since then they are gone farr within the Limits and the french got more by setling Trongsagroende and we must Joyne our Opinion with yours that if wee suffer the french to settle at onjagera, being the only way to ward hunting, wee will be altogether shut up and Debarred, of means for our lively hood then in deed our Posterity would have Reason to Reflect on us there fore to beginn in time wee will appoint some of our men to go thither to onjagera and Desire you to send one along so that in the name of the five Nations Jean Coeur may be acquainted with the Resolve of this Meeting and for biden to proceed any further building, but ordered to take down what's Erected."

Having thus confirmed the English in their assertions, and pledged their own friendship, the sachems through their spokesman gave the belt of wampum and passed on to other matters. At the end of the conference three chiefs were appointed to go to Niagara to expostulate with the French; and Messrs. Schuyler and Livingston deputed to go with them their Dutch interpreter, Lawrence Claessen.

This man, whose name in the old records is variously spelled Claessen, Clawson, Clausen, Claese, Clase or Clace, acquires some importance in our record from the fact that he is the first representative of English interests known to have visited the Niagara in other than a clandestine way. With the exception of Roosboom and McGregorie and perhaps one or two others of their class, he is the first white man, not of France or in the French interest, known to have reached the region. Moreover he is a typical example of a class of men who at this period were indispensable alike to the English and French. He was an Indian interpreter, a go-between, the medium of communication between the English and the Indians. Though not a soldier, he was for his people in other ways the counterpart of Joncaire among the French; and although his experiences appear to have been less hazardous and romantic than were that adventurer's, yet his life, for a score of years before we find him at Niagara, had been successfully devoted to a calling which demanded exceptional knowledge and tact, and which brought no lack of arduous experiences.

As early as 1700 he was serving the English as interpreter in their councils and treaties with the Five Nations. He was apparently even then no novice at the trade, for the next year the Mohawks gave him about three acres on small islands in the Mohawk, in proof of their gratitude because of his fairness as an interpreter. He was a witness, July 19, 1701, to the deed by which the Five Nations conveyed their beaver-hunting grounds to King William. It is a strange document, containing among the attached signatures the pictographic devices of sachems of each of the five nations; and quit-claiming to the English Crown all the country of

the Iroquois south of Lakes Ontario and Huron, on both sides of Lake Erie and as far west as Lake Michigan, "including likewise," specifies the deed, "the great falls oakinagaro" [Niagara]. This vast area, 400 miles wide by 800 miles long, an empire in itself and now the seat of millions of people, the home of commerce and of culture, but then the wilderness which the Iroquois claimed as his hunting-ground, and because of its resources of fur the bone of contention between Europe's greatest powers, was absolutely given, with every rivet and clamp of legal verbiage which the language of the law, redundantly profuse then as now, could command—"freely and voluntarily surrendered delivered up and forever quit-claimed . . . unto our great Lord and Master the King of England called by us Corachkoo and by the Christians William the third and to his heires and successors Kings and Queens of England for ever." And the sole compensation for this transfer was to be liberty on the part of the Five Nations to hunt as they pleased in this domain, and to be protected by the English in the exercise of that right.

From this date on for many years Claessen continued to act in a confidential capacity and as interpreter. The colonial records afford many glimpses of him. In 1710 he was sent to the Senecas' country, "to y^e five Nations to watch y^e motions of y^e French & to perswade those Indians to give a free passage to y^e farr Indians through their Countrey to come here to Albany to trade."

On this mission, at Onondaga, July 17th, he encountered Longueuil and Joncaire. He was among the Indians at Onondaga again in the spring of 1711. Two years later we find him, with Heinrich Hanson and Capt. Johannes Bleecker, holding an important conference at the same great rendezvous.

Whenever the Indians went to Albany to confer—and that was often, at this period—Claessen was summoned to interpret. On such occasions, the communications from red men to Governor, or vice versa, were made through successive interpretations. Thus it was customary, on these

occasions, for the sachem to make his speech, paragraphed, so to say, by the gift of wampum belts. This speech Claessen, who, perhaps alone of all the white men present, understood the Five Nations dialects, repeated, more or less accurately, in Dutch. Usually it was Robert Livingston, secretary for the Indian Commissioners, who knew both Dutch and English, but not Indian, who translated what Claessen had said, for the benefit of Gov. Burnet, who understood only English.

Sometimes there was still further interposition of lingual media. Such was the case at a conference at Albany in 1722 between Gov. Spotswood of Virginia and the Indians. On this occasion there was speech-making by the Delawares. Here Claessen's knowledge failed him, so another interpreter, James Latort, was called in, to convert Delaware into Mohawk or Dutch.

More tedious yet was the work of the interpreters at a conference held at Albany in 1723 between the commissioners of Indian affairs and representatives of western tribes—the "farr Indians" of the quaint old records. Claessen could not understand them, but a Seneca who had been a prisoner among them could, and interpreted to Claessen, who in turn interpreted to the commissioners; thus after three transformations the message reached a record in English. The wonder is not that there were so many misunderstandings, but—if one may judge from the dispatch of business—that there were so few.

There were other interpreters employed by the English at this period; among them Capt. Johannes Bleecker and Jan Baptist van Eps, a man who was sent on important missions among the Senecas, and may not unlikely have found his way to the Niagara; his name, in some of the reports of Indian speeches, appears rather startlingly as John the Baptist. There was even a Dutch woman, Hilletje van Olinda, employed as "interpretress" at Albany in 1702. But none other in his time seems to have borne so important a part as Lawrence Claessen. In 1726 he was one of the witnesses to a trust deed by which the Onondagas, Cayugas and

Senecas confirmed to Governor Burnet, as representative of King George, the quit-claim deed which the Five Nations had executed in 1701. The terms of the latter instrument are not so sweeping as in the former case. The country deeded is from the Salmon River, in Oswego County, New York, to Cleveland, Ohio, a strip sixty miles wide back into the country from the water front, and carefully specifying that it includes "all along the said lake [Erie] and all along the narrow passage from the said lake to the Falls of Oniagara Called Cahaquaraghe and all along the River of Oniagara and all along the Lake Cadarackquis," etc.²³ Small wonder, in view of these sessions in good faith, that the English vigorously contested all French establishment on the Niagara.

Two years after the signing of this deed, Claessen was invited to Oswego, to mark out a land grant for the King. "We know none so proper," said the sachems to Governor Montgomery, "as Lawrence Clausen the Interpreter, who is one of us And understands our Language." "I consent," replied His Excellency, "that Lawrence Clausen the Interpreter go up with you as you desire to mark out the Land you are to give his Majesty at Oswego, And as he [the King] is your kind father I expect you will give him a Large tract." This was on Oct. 1, 1728. As late as Nov. 23, 1730, we find him just returning to Albany from Onondaga and reporting to the Indian Commissioners the latest news regarding Joncaire, which will be noted presently as we trace the career of that worthy.

In all the thirty years during which we have sight of Lawrence Claessen, no service on which he was employed is recorded with greater detail than that which brought him to the Frenchmen's "Magazin Royal" on the banks of the Niagara in the spring of 1720. In his journal of that visit he has left a pretty vivid account of the way in which his mission sped.

After a week of travel from the Seneca town Claessen and the three Seneca chiefs, on the last day of May, arrived at

23. From the original roll in the office of the Secretary of State, Albany.

the "Magazin Royal." They found it a good-sized house, "Forty Foot long and thirty wide," but it was not ample enough to afford them a hospitable reception. It was occupied, according to the English account, by a French merchant and two other Frenchmen—one of them Douville. Joncaire does not appear to have been there when Claessen arrived. The French account says that the Englishman (Claessen) told La Corne, "whom M. Bégon appointed to trade at that place, to withdraw, and that they were going to pull down that house. La Corne answered them that he should not permit them to do so without an order from Sieur de Joncaire, who on being advised thereof by an Indian, went to the Senecas to prevent them consenting to that demolition."

The argument between Claessen and La Corne was a heated one. Claessen told the latter that he had been sent, in company with the sachems, "to tell you that the Five Nations have heard that you are building a house at Octjagara [Niagara], and the said sachims having considered how prejudicial that a French Settlement on their Land must consequently prove to them and their Posterity (if not timely prevented) wherefore they have sent me and them to acquaint you with their resolution that it is much against their inclination that any buildings should be made here and that they desire you to desist further building and to leave and demolish what you have made."

The French merchant was at no loss for defense. "We had leave," he replied, "from the young fighting men of the Senecas to build a house at Niagara. My master is the Governor of Canada. He has posted me here to trade. This house will not be torn down until he orders it."

The three sachems with Claessen scouted the idea that the young fighting men of their nation had given or could give permission for the French to establish themselves on the bank of the Niagara. "We have never heard," they said, "that any of our young men had given such leave for making any building at Octjagara."

Claessen did not tarry long. Returning by way of Irondequoit, he there encountered new evidence of French enterprise in a blacksmith whom the Governor of Canada had sent among the Senecas to work for them "gratis, he having compassion on them as a father," and in three French canoes loaded with goods, bound up for Niagara. By June 7th he was back at Seneca Castle, where he called together the chiefs and young warriors for a council. When they met, Joncaire appeared with them. Claessen told the assembly what had been said at Niagara; whereupon the Indians, old sachems and young warriors alike, joined in a disclaimer. The French, they said, had built the house at Niagara without so much as asking their leave, and they desired "that their brother Corlaer may do his endeavour to have y^e said House demolisht that they may preserve their Lands and Hunting." They suggested that the English at Albany write to the Governor of Canada and insist that the house be destroyed.

Here Joncaire broke in. He had listened to the Senecas' disclaimer, but now he assumed a taunting tone. Interrupting Claessen he exclaimed: "You seek to have the house at Niagara torn down only because you are afraid that you—you traders at Albany—will not get any trade from this Seneca nation and from the Indians of the far West. When we keep our house and people at Niagara we can stop the Senecas and the Western Indians too from trading with you. That is the trouble with you. You are not afraid that we keep the land from the Senecas."

"The French," disputed Claessen, "have made this settlement at Niagara to encroach on the Five Nations, to hinder them in their hunting, and to debar them of the advantage they should reap by permitting a free passage of the Western Indians through the Seneca castles. What is more, you impose on these people in your trade. You sell them goods at exorbitant rates. For a blanket of strouds you demand eight beavers, for a white blanket six, and other goods in proportion; whereas they may have them at Albany for half those prices." And the assembled Indians gravely affirmed that it was so.

Lawrence Claessen went back to Albany, leaving Joncaire for the time victorious. He prevailed on the vacillating Senecas not only to spare but to protect the house by the Niagara rapids, arguing that they themselves would profit from it, and emphasizing the argument, we may be sure, by a discreet bestowal of gifts.

For the Senecas, this occurrence was but another step towards an inevitable end. For the French, it was a great achievement. The adroit Joncaire had crowned the efforts of more than forty years; for ever since La Salle had built his first house on the river the French had longed for its permanent possession. The achievement won for Joncaire new expressions of regard. In the report of the Governor and Intendant for 1720 one may read: "No one is better qualified than he [Joncaire] to begin this establishment [Niagara,] which will render the trade of Fort Frontenac much more considerable and valuable than it has ever been. He is a very excellent officer; the interpreter of the Five Iroquois Nations, and has served thirty-five years in the country. As all the Governors-General have successfully employed him, they have led him to hope that the Council would be pleased to regard the services he will have it in his power to render at this conjuncture."

Local tradition fixes the site of *Magazin Royal* on the present Bridge Street at Lewiston, a few rods east of the tracks of the International Railway Company, and within a stone's throw of the bank of the Niagara. Here, at the south side of the road, just at the edge of the steep slope that stretches to the upper heights, one may yet trace the outlines of what appears to have been a well, and of the foundation of a building; scarcely however of Joncaire's cabin, but very plausibly of a house which later occupied the site, regarding which the Rev. Joshua Cooke, for many years a resident of Lewiston, writes to the present chronicler: "I have a particular interest in the spot, for in 1802, eighty-one years after Joncaire built, my grandfather built his pioneer home on the spot—the first white man's home on the Niagara, after Joncaire." The old ferry road followed the general direction of the present Bridge Street, but ran a little to the north of it, in a ravine of which a portion still remains, at its junction with the river. Within recent years the building of the electric road along the river bank, the reconstruction of the suspension bridge at this point, and the cutting and grading incident to this work, have greatly changed things hereabouts. The present owner of the site is Mr. J. Boardman Scovell of Lewiston, who, in connection with the Niagara Frontier Landmarks Association, proposes to place on the site a monument which shall commemorate Joncaire's famous *Magazin Royal*.

V. THE BRITISH COVET THE NIAGARA TRADE.

The British plans for getting a foothold on Lake Erie and the Niagara at this time are revealed in various documents. A "Representation of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations to the King upon the State of His Majesties Colonies and Plantations on the Continent of North America," dated Sept. 8, 1721, sets forth at length that it would be of great advantage to build a fort in the country of the Seneca Indians, near the Lake Ontario, "which, perhaps, might be done with their consent by the means of presents, and it should the rather be attempted without loss of time, to prevent the french from succeeding in the same design, which they are now actually endeavouring at." We have already alluded to other forms in which this design was shown. It reappears in various ways, in numerous documents and publications of the time.

There ensued between the Marquis de Vaudreuil in behalf of Canada, and Governor Burnet, an exceedingly spirited correspondence; one of those epistolary dialogues, or rather duels, which by their exhibitions of human nature do so enliven the record of the long strife for supremacy in America. Joncaire had left Montreal in September, 1720, for the house by the Niagara rapids. He undoubtedly carried with him a generous stock of articles of trade, powder, lead and brandy. He was to stay on the Niagara and among the Senecas until the following June. Governor Burnet, down in New York, was quickly apprised of it, and made known his mind to Vaudreuil. He began with compliments worthy of a French courtier. He had come to his post in September last, he wrote, with an inclination to salute his neighbor to the North by a cordial notification of his arrival. "I heard such a high eulogium of your family and of your own excellent qualities that I flattered myself with a most agreeable neighborhood, and was impatient to open a correspondence in which all the profit would be on my side. But I had not passed two weeks in the province when our own Indians of the Five Nations came to advise me, that the

French were building a post in their country at Niagara; that Sieur de Joncaire was strongly urging them to abandon the English interest altogether and to join him, promising them that the Governor of Canada would furnish better land near Chambly, to those who would remove thither; and would uphold the rest against the new Governor of New York, who was coming to exterminate them; . . . that an effort was making to persuade them to close the passage through their country, to the English, in case the latter should disturb the post at Niagara, and that M. de Longueuil had gone thither for that purpose, and to complete the seduction of the Indians from their ancient dependence on Great Britain." He explains why he has not waited for instructions from the Court before writing in the matter, and continues: "You will perceive, by the Treaty of Utrecht, that all the Indians are to be at liberty to go to trade with one party and the other; and if advantage be taken of the post at Niagara to shut up the road to Albany to the Far Indians, it is a violation of the Treaty which ought justly to alarm us, especially as that post is on territory belonging to our Indians, where we were better entitled to build than the French, should we deem it worth the trouble." He charges Vaudreuil with unseemly haste in seizing "disputed posts"; renews his expressions of regret, and adroitly adds that he believes that "most of these disorders are due to this Joncaire, who has long since deserved hanging for the infamous murder of Hontour [Montour] which he committed. I leave you to judge whether a man of such a character deserves to be employed in affairs so delicate."

Canada's Governor replied, *seriatim*, to all the counts which Burnet undertook to score against him. Burnet, he said, was "the first English Governor-General who has questioned the right of the French, from time immemorial, to the post of Niagara, to which the English have, up to the present time, laid no claim." He declared that the French right there had continued since La Salle's first occupancy; that Fort Denonville was given up in 1688 because of sickness, "without this post, however, having been abandoned

take the exact height of the cataract." This apparently had never been done before. It is plain, from their wild guesses and exaggerations, that neither Hennepin nor La Hontan attempted it, nor do they report an attempt by any one connected with the expeditions of La Salle or Denonville.

It is matter of regret that no official report of this first measurement of the falls is known. We learn of it from a verbal interview which took place in Albany five months later. On October 10th of this year the Hon. Paul Dudley of that town gleaned some facts from one Borassaw—so the English report spells his name. This man (a French Canadian, probably a boatman or possibly a trader), said he had been at Niagara seven times, and was there the last May, when the height of the falls was taken by Longue Isle, St. Ville and Laubineau—in which perverse spelling of the Hon. Paul Dudley we may recognize Longueuil, Capt. de Senneville and Laubinois. They used, the Frenchman said, a large cod-line and a stone of half a hundred weight, and they found the perpendicular height "no more than twenty-six Fathom; his Words were *vingt et six Bras*." This height, 156 feet, indicates that the measurement was made at the eastern edge of the American Fall, which spot, known in our day as Prospect Point, was undoubtedly the natural and most frequented place of observation, from days immemorial. The height which de Cavagnal and his companions reported in 1721, is still the height at that point.

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crowded with soldiers, others laden deep with merchandise. Not in many a year had so imposing a company come to the Niagara. The lower reaches of the river are quickly accomplished, and as the voyagers make landing below *Magazin Royal*, they receive hearty welcome from Chabert Joncaire, surrounded by delighted and greedy men, women and children from the Seneca and Mississauga lodges on the river bank. The first greeting, a deferential one, is for Charles le Moyne, Baron de Longueuil, lieutenant governor of Montreal. With him are the Marquis de Cavagnal, son of the Governor-General of Canada, Captain de Senneville, M. de Laubinois, commissary of ordnance, Ensign de la Chauvignerie the interpreter, De Noyan, commandant at Frontenac, and John Durant, state chaplain at that post. Each of the three King's boats brought six soldiers, and there were valets and cooks, so that Longueuil's party numbered twenty-eight or more. Besides these, two bark canoes had each borne eight men and a load of merchandise, one destined for the magazine at Niagara, the other for trade among the Miamis at the upper end of Lake Erie. Still another canoe brought, with De Noyan and the chaplain, four soldiers and an Indian.

For Longueuil, it was an official visit. He and La Chauvignerie were under orders from the Court to join Joncaire at Niagara and go with him among the Senecas to distribute presents and thank them for the good will they had shown the French in permitting the construction of *Magazin Royal*. For the Marquis de la Cavagnal and Capt. de Senneville, it was largely a pleasure trip: they "had undertaken that voyage only out of curiosity of seeing the fall of the water at Niagara," says Chaplain Durant, thus indicating probably the first sight-seeing tourists, as distinguished from all other travelers on the Niagara.

It was not in the nature of things, however, that young men of the spirit and enterprise of Cavagnal and Longueuil should rest content with sentimental gazing. They had, in fact, the serious purpose, in compliance with an order laid upon them by the Governor himself, "to survey Niagara and

take the exact height of the cataract." This apparently had never been done before. It is plain, from their wild guesses and exaggerations, that neither Hennepin nor La Hontan attempted it, nor do they report an attempt by any one connected with the expeditions of La Salle or Denonville.

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account of Niagara phenomena served a good purpose in toning down the earlier exaggerations; but, reported Mr. Dudley, "He confirms Father Hennepin's and Mr. Kellug's Account of the large Trouts of those Lakes, and solemnly affirmed there was one taken lately, that weighed eighty-six pounds."²⁴

Two or three days²⁵ after the arrival of Longueuil and his party, there came two other canoes; one laden with merchandise bound for Detroit; in the other were four traders and the famous Jesuit, Father Charlevoix.

It was "two o'clock in the afternoon" of May 22d that Charlevoix reached the mouth of the Niagara. He had passed the neglected waste, the site of Denonville's and La Salle's earlier establishments, not stopping until he reached Joncaire's cabin—"to which," he wrote a few days later, "they have beforehand given the name of fort: for it is pretended that in time this will be changed into a great fortress." There were here now, all told, some fifty Frenchmen, a most distinguished company to be found, this May evening of the year 1721, harbored together in a rough house under the Niagara escarpment at the edge of the rapids, Here these comrades in arms and adventure feasted together on fresh fish which Seneca and Mississauga boys brought them from the river, with roast venison or other provision from the forest, well prepared by Longueuil's own cooks; not forgetting the comfort of French liquors or other luxuries which the voyager of quality was sure to carry with him into the wilderness. They gave the priest a welcome at the board, and he, being no ascetic, was glad to join them. It is a pleasure to conjure up the jovial gathering—a rare

24. See "An Account of the Falls of the River Niagara, taken at Albany, Oct. 10, 1721, from Monsieur Borassaw, a French native of Canada. By the Hon. Paul Dudley, Esq., F. R. S.," in *Philosophical Transactions*, Royal Soc., London, 1722. Dudley's record of Borassaw is also given in Vol. III, "The Gallery of Nature and Art" (6 vols.), 2d ed., London, 1818. See also Vol. XIII of La Roche's "Memoires littér. de la Grande Bretagne," La Haye, 1721-26.

25. Durant says May 21st; Charlevoix says he arrived at Niagara on the afternoon of May 22d.—"Journal Historique," Letter XIV.

occasion in a history which usually presents to the student a dismal and distressed aspect, often deepening into tragedy.

The French officers were extremely well satisfied with what they found on the Niagara. A council was held at which the Senecas made their usual facile promises and Joncaire spoke "with all the good sense of a Frenchman, whereof he enjoys a large share, and with the sublimest eloquence of an Iroquoise."

The officers were to set off on their mission the next day. That evening a Mississauga Indian invited them to a "festival," as Charlevoix calls it; and although by this time he was not without some acquaintance with Indian ways, the priest found it "singular enough." As this is the first "festival" on the banks of the Niagara which has been reported for us, the reader may find pleasure in joining the party, with the Jesuit historian for mentor:

"It was quite dark when it began, and on entering the cabin of this Indian, we found a fire lighted, near which sat a man beating on a kind of drum; another was constantly shaking his *chichicoué*, and singing at the same time. This lasted two hours and tired us very much as they were always repeating the same thing over again, or rather uttering half articulated sounds, and that without the least variation. We entreated our host not to carry this prelude any further, who with a good deal of difficulty showed us this mark of complaisance.

"Next, five or six women made their appearance, drawing up in a line, in very close order, their arms hanging down, and dancing and singing at the same time, that is to say, they moved some paces forwards, and then as many backwards, without breaking the rank. When they had continued this exercise about a quarter of an hour, the fire, which was all that gave light in the cabin, was put out, and then nothing was to be perceived but an Indian dancing with a lighted coal in his mouth. The concert of the drum and *chichicoué* still continued, the women repeating their dances and singing from time to time; the Indian danced all the while, but as he could only be distinguished by the

light of the coal in his mouth he appeared like a goblin, and was horrible to see. This medley of dancing, and singing, and instruments, and that fire which never went out, had a very wild and whimsical appearance, and diverted us for half an hour; after which we went out of the cabin, though the entertainment lasted till morning." The discreet father naively adds to his fair correspondent: "This, madam, is all I saw of the fire-dance, and I have not been able to learn what passed the remainder of the night." He speculates at length on how the chief performer could have held a live coal in his mouth; the Indians, he is told, know a plant which renders the part that has been rubbed with it insensible to fire, "but whereof they would never communicate the discovery to the Europeans." With the known properties of cocaine and some other drugs in mind, this explanation would seem in a degree plausible; against the theory is the fact that the pharmacopæa has pretty thoroughly tested all the plants which the Indian of these latitudes could have known. There was probably a good deal of charlatanry about the exhibition which so puzzled the good priest.

To Charlevoix, the environs of Magazin Royal were far from pleasing. Most of the modern visitors who resort to the vicinity in thousands every summer, find the prospect uncommonly attractive. Here the wild gorge of the Niagara ends, and between alluvial banks the beautiful river, as if wearied with its struggles above, continues at a slower pace toward the blue Ontario. At landings, on the Lewiston or Queenston sides, are steamers with flags a-flutter waiting for the throngs of tourists. Trolley-cars shuttle back and forth, their road-beds scarring and changing the old slopes. On the Canadian side, cedars and other wild growth still soften the outlines of the heights, crowned with a noble Corinthian shaft in memory of the heroic Brock. A bridge, the second that has swung across the river at the mouth of the gorge, and, on the American side, a steam railroad, have still further contributed to the obliteration of natural outlines. But nothing short of a cataclysm can destroy the beauty of the place. The heights are green and pleasant,

easily reached by winding roads, crowned with grain-fields and orchards. Below are the quiet, picturesque villages of Lewiston and Queenston, and all the low country is a garden.

Not so did it appear to Charlevoix, who protested that "nothing but zeal for the public good could possibly induce an officer to remain in such a country as this, than which a wilder and more frightful is not to be seen. On the one side you see just under your feet, and as it were at the bottom of an abyss, a great river, but which in this place is like a torrent by its rapidity, by the whirlpools formed by a thousand rocks, through which it with difficulty finds a passage, and by the foam with which it is always covered. On the other, the view is confined by three mountains placed one over the other, and whereof the last hides itself in the clouds. This would have been a very proper scene for the poets to make the Titans attempt to scale the heavens. In a word, on whatever side you turn your eyes, you discover nothing which does not inspire a secret horror." This shows a favorite form of the exaggeration to which the priest was addicted; he has elsewhere described mere oak trees as reaching "to the clouds."

After the departure of the officers, he made the long portage and continued his journey. Once up the heights, he acknowledged a change of sentiment. "Beyond those uncultivated and uninhabitable mountains, you enjoy the sight of a rich country, magnificent forests, beautiful and fruitful hills; you breathe the purest air, under the mildest and most temperate climate imaginable." His passage up the Niagara, it will be remembered, was at the end of May. He visited the falls, of which he wrote on the spot a long description, sending it back to Montreal by some voyageurs whom he met at the entrance to Lake Erie; whence, on May 27th, he continued his long canoe voyage to the westward. The goods for trade and for the post at Detroit were laboriously packed over the portage. Voyageurs and Indians, sweating and straining, bore inverted on their shoulders the long bark canoes, up the steep heights and along the forest path to quiet water above the cataract.

Setting out in the other direction, our tourist officers, with De Noyan, Laubinois and Durant, departed on the 22d, and on reaching the lake turned their prow westward, to make their way to Fort Frontenac along the north shore of the lake.

Nearly a month later Chaplain Durant, making his way to Albany with a delegation of Indians, met Joncaire at the mouth of the Oswego River. "I asked him," the chaplain writes, "what he had done with these savages upon the subject of the voyage he had undertaken to them. He answered me, 'I have beat the Bush and Mr. de Longueuil will take the birds. Our voyage will do him honor at the Court of France,' and explained himself no further." A little advanced on his way, above the Oswego falls, Durant met Longueuil and La Chauvignerie. "Have you succeeded," he asked, "in engaging the Five Nations to defend the Post of Niagara?" They answered that the chiefs of the Senecas, Cayugas, Oneidas and Onondagas had given them "good words," promised to tell him further at Montreal, and hurried on towards Lake Ontario.

The French officers were little inclined to make a confidant of the priest, and with good reason, for he was then, as he had been at Niagara, virtually a spy in the English interest. John Durant was a Recollect, a Frenchman who claimed to be of Huguenot family, which, perhaps, accounts for his resolve to change both his country and his religion. Apparently his Niagara visit suggested the way to him. He had been stationed at Fort Frontenac, and returned thither from Niagara; but on June 13th he deserted that post and his charge, and with an Indian escort set out for Albany, where he stated his case to Governor Burnet, and gave him a journal of what he had seen and heard at Niagara. It is from that journal that a portion of the foregoing narrative is drawn.²⁶ Burnet made Durant the bearer of his own report to the Lords of Trade in London, together with a letter commending the author for favor and suggesting reward for his services. In due time

26. See Durant's Memorial, etc., N. Y. Col. Docs., V, 588-591.

the thanks of the Lords of Trade were sent back to Governor Burnet, with the assurance that "we have done what we could for his [Durant's] service, tho' not with so much success as we cou'd wish"²⁷; and we hear no more of Chaplain Durant, the Huguenot Spy of the Niagara.

VII. GOVERNOR BURNET GETS INTERESTED.

William Burnet was appointed Governor of the Colonies of New York and New Jersey, April 19, 1720. He was no sooner established in his new office than he began a zealous campaign against the advances of the French. In his first communication to the Lords of Trade, Sept. 24, 1720, just one week after his arrival in New York, he stated that "there may be effectual measures taken for fortifying & securing the Frontier against the French, who are more industrious than ever in seducing our Indians to their Interests & have built trading Houses in their country." In November, reporting the result of the Legislative Assembly of 1720, he declared it his intention to build a new fort at Niagara and a small one at Onondaga. He complained that the French "tryed to seduce the Sinnekees" by sending priests among them, grotesquely declaring this to be a breach of the treaty which required the French "not to molest the Five Nations"! "This," he added, "besides their continuing to fortify at Niagara shews how much they take advantage of the unsettled state of the limits between the Crowns."²⁸

"When I get the King's presents to the Indians, which I hope will be dispatched," he suggestively wrote, "I propose to go into the Indian country through the five nations and give them these presents at their own homes when I come among the Sinnekees I will propose to them my design to build a Fort at Niagara & leave a whole company of souldiers to guard it and be a defence to the Indians against the French and to make this succeed the better I

27. Lords of Trade to Burnet, Whitehall, June 6, 1722.

28. Burnet to the Lords of Trade, June 18, 1721.

intend to give land to the officers and souldiers & to the Palatines and all others that will go there by this means in a year or two the country which is very fruitful will maintain itself and be the finest Settlement in the Province because it is seated in the Pass where all the Indians in our dependance go over to hunt and trade with the Farr Indians it will likewise make it practicable to have another settlement above the Fall of Niagara where vessells may be built to trade into all the Great Lakes of North America with all the Indians bordering on them, with whom we may have an immense Trade never yet attempted by us and now carried on by the French with goods brought from this Province."

The project does credit to the Governor's zeal and enthusiasm, but it came to naught, so far as Niagara was concerned. In a representation to the King the following year, the advantage is urged of building a fort "in the country of the Seneca Indians, near the Lake Ontario, which, perhaps, might be done with their consent by the means of presents, and it should the rather be attempted without the loss of time, to prevent the French from succeeding in the same design, which they are now actually endeavoring at"²⁹; and the King's attention was especially directed to Burnet's Niagara scheme, but no royal encouragement was given. The Governor himself, in his report to the Lords of Trade for 1721, reviews at length the protest he had made to the Canadian Governor because of the French establishment at Niagara, but says nothing more of his own proposition for that river. He had sent instead a small company to carry on trade at Irondequoit Bay. The Palatines, whom he had considered as available Niagara colonists, had objected to such an exile in a distant and probably hostile wilderness, and had been given their now historic lands on the Mohawk.

One phase of the establishment at Irondequoit must be noted in tracing the history of the Niagara. The company of seven young Dutchmen who spent the winter of 1721-'22 at Irondequoit, were under the command of Capt. Peter

29. "State of the British Plantations in America," 1721.

Schuyler, Jr. To him Governor Burnet gave explicit instructions for the regulation of trade and the control of his party. In a postscript to his letter of instructions he wrote:

"Whereas it is thought of great use to the British Interest to have a Settlement upon the nearest part of the lake Erée near the falls of Iagara you are to Endeavour to purchase in his Majesty's name of the Sinnekes or other native proprietors all such Lands above the falls of Iagara fifty miles to the southward of the said falls which they can dispose of."

If young Schuyler made any efforts to make this purchase, the record of it is not known. When he returned with his band to Albany in September, 1722, Joncaire still continued commandant at Magazin Royal, and trade-master of the Niagara region.

In June, 1722, the Lords of Trade, replying to Burnet's proposition of a year and a half before, hoped that the fort which he would build on the Niagara would effectually check the efforts of the French at that point, but advised him to "take the consent of the Indian Proprietors" before he built. A year later—June 25, 1723—Burnet wrote that if he could get the Two-per-cent. Act confirmed, he should be "very earnest to build a Fort in the Indian Country among the Sinnekees," but subsequent events showed that he no longer thought Niagara the place for his establishment. The statement of the contemporary English historian, that a number of young men were at this time sent into Western New York "as far as the Pass between the Great Lakes at the Falls of Iagara to learn the language of these Indians & to renew the Trade,"³⁰—that is to build up a direct traffic with the Western Indians which had been neglected for the easier barter of English goods to the French—apparently refers to the short-lived establishment at Irondequoit, already referred to. Evidence is lacking to show that the English or Dutch gained any foothold on the Niagara at this period.

In 1724, with due consent of the "Indian Proprietors," Burnet made his famous establishment at the mouth of the

30. Colden's "Account of the Trade of New York," 1723.

Oswego River, which was the foundation of the present city of Oswego. At the time, however, probably no one was dreaming of future cities. It was but a new move in the century-long game for the fur trade. One might say, with some accuracy, that it was Joncaire's trading-house on the Niagara that provoked the English to make a like establishment, though much better built, at Oswego; and it was the English at Oswego that spurred the French to hasten the construction of the stone Fort Niagara. A broader statement of the situation, however, would show that these establishments by no means represented all the efforts which the rivals were putting forth at this period to secure the Indian trade.

The English in particular were successful in other ways. One of the first legislative acts passed under Burnet had aimed to put a stop to the direct trade between the English and the French. It had long been the custom for Albany traders to carry English-made goods to Montreal, selling them to the French who in turn traded them to the Indians. The English could supply certain articles which were more to the savage taste than those sent over from France; and they could afford to sell them at a lower price. Having stopped the peddling to the French, Governor Burnet made strong efforts to draw the far Western Indians to Albany for trade direct with them. In these efforts he was fairly successful. Bands of strange savages from Mackinac and beyond, accompanied by their squaws and papooses, presented themselves at Albany, where their kind had never been seen before. They had come down Lake Huron, past the French at Detroit, and through Lake Erie; and paddling down the swift reaches of the navigable Niagara had made the portage, reëmbarking below the heights and at the very doorway of the French trading-house; with some interchange, no doubt, of jeers and imprecations, but none of furs for French goods; and following the historic highway for canoes, they skirted the Ontario shore to the Oswego, then passed up that river, through Oneida Lake and down the Mohawk, until they could lay their bundles of beaver skins before the English, on the strand at Albany.

This was, indeed, a triumph of trade. They spoke a language which the traders there had never heard, but they brought many packs of furs; and with, perhaps, a double interpretation, the business sped to the entire satisfaction of the English. These people came in various bands; about twenty hunters, in the spring of 1722; and in the spring of 1723 over eighty, besides their numerous train of women and children; with sundry other parties following. They traveled over 1,200 miles to get to Albany.

Burnet was delighted with this proof that even with their *Magazin Royal* at the foot of the Niagara portage, the French did not by any means have a monopoly of the business. The English emissaries in the country of the Five Nations were as active as ever was Joncaire, and at this period appear to have been even more successful. Burnet attributed the increased trade to the stoppage of the English-French barter above mentioned and to "the Company whom I have kept in the Sinnekees Country whose business it has been to persuade all the Indians that pass by to come rather to trade at Albany than at Montreal, and as the Indians that come from the remote Lakes to go to Canada are commonly in want of Provisions when they come below the falls of Niagara, they are obliged to supply themselves in the Sinnekees Country where our people are and then they may take their choice where they will go, which considering the experience they have now had of the cheapness of Goods in this Province, we need not fear will be universally in our favor."³¹

So well disposed were these Western Indian traders towards the English, that they entered into a "League of Friendship" at Albany, which both Governor Burnet and Surveyor-General Colden construed as a desire to join the Six Nations, "that they may be esteemed the seventh Nation under the English Protection"—a matter for which the English were presumably far more eager than was the ancient League of the Iroquois, now, alas, past the splendid meridian of its strength. Its remaining energies were to be dissipated in the strife of the usurping strangers.

31. Burnet to Lords of Trade, June 25, 1723.

Burnet's dealings with the Five Nations were conspicuous for fairness and sagacity. In order to thwart the French, and bring the Western fur trade to the New York Colony, he could afford to be generous, especially to the Senecas, whose aid was indispensable. In his first meeting with them, at Albany, in September, 1721, he so won their good will that they declared they would not let the French fortify Niagara. The French, they protested, had deceived them there some thirty years ago, pretending to get permission to build a storehouse, and then fortifying it without permission; but, said the Indians, we pulled it down. They did not exactly promise to do so again, but said: "We are resolved as soon as any French come to the Five Nations to tell them to pull down that trading House at Onjarara, and not to come either to settle or Trade among us any more."

The protestations of friendship at this council, on the part of the Five Nations—still referred to as the Five Nations, though since the inclusion of the Tuscaroras in 1715, really become six—were somewhat warmer than usual. The conference was shared in by the Governor "and diverse gentlemen from New York that attended his Excellency," by Captain Robert Walters, Cadwallader Colden and James Alexander of the Royal Council, by the twelve Commissioners of Indian Affairs, headed by Colonel Peter Schuyler, by the Mayor and Aldermen of Albany, and, no doubt, by such unofficial spectators as could gain admission. The Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas were all represented by painted, be-feathered and greedy sachems. Their chief spokesman was not content, before so august an assemblage, with the more ordinary pledges of friendship.

"We call you Brother," he said, holding out the belt of wampum, "and so we ought to do, and to love one another as well as those that have sucked on [one] breast, for we are Brethren indeed, and hope to live and dye so," and he promised on behalf of the Five Nations "to keep the Covenant Chain inviolable as long as Sun & Moon endure." It is not impossible that the Indians had wind of the great present they were to receive—"as noble a Present," Burnet wrote

afterwards, "as ever was given them from His Majesty King George." At the close of the formal proceedings the Indians told the Governor that they heard he had lately been married.³² "We are glad of it," they said, "and wish you much Joy And as a token of our Rejoycing We present a few Beavers to your Lady for Pin Money," adding with amusing frankness, "It is Customary for a Brother upon his Marriage to invite his Brethren to be Merry and Dance."

The Governor did not disappoint them. The gifts which he now spread before them would have filled a warehouse. The list, which has been preserved,³³ is not uninteresting. There were given to the Indians on this occasion five pieces of strouds [worth at that time £10 per piece in New York and upwards of \$13 at Montreal], five of duffels, five of blankets, four of "half thicks," fifty fine shirts, 213 Ozibrigg³⁴ shirts, fifty red coats, fifty pairs of stockings, six dozen scissors, fourteen dozen knives, four dozen jack-knives, five dozen square looking-glasses and thirty dozen of round hand-mirrors, twenty-eight parcels of gartering and twelve of binding, twenty pounds of beads, twenty brass kettles, fifty guns, 1,000 pounds of powder in bags, 200 pounds of bar lead, ten cases of ball, 1,500 gun-flints, twelve dozen jews-harps, six and one-half barrels of tobacco, and last, but very far from least, a hogshead of rum. There were besides private presents to the sachems, including guns, powder, shirts, laced coats and laced hats, and special portions of liquor. Even this was not enough. Governor Burnet "in the name of his Majesty, Ordered them some Barrels of Beer to be merry withall and dance, which they did according to their Custom and were extremely well Satisfied."

32. He had married a daughter of Abraham Van Horne, a prominent New York merchant.

33. Minutes of Conference at Albany, Sept. 7, 1721, kept by Robt. Livingston, Sec'y for Indian Affairs.

34. A coarse linen much used in the Indian trade. The name is often written "Oznabrigg," but the correct form is Osnaburg, after the city so named in Germany, whence these linens were originally imported. The name came to be applied to coarse linens made elsewhere. "Duffels" were coarse woolen cloths, the name probably derived from Duffel in the Netherlands.

And back to their several villages the loaded retinue went; up the Mohawk, to Onondaga; the diminishing party continuing, now by lake and stream, now filing along the old trails, to the Seneca towns in the valley of the Genesee and to the westward. Red coats, hand-mirrors and new guns were hard arguments to be overcome by the pinched French at Magazin Royal.

It was on the strength of the good will of the Senecas, won at this conference, that Burnet ventured to send his young men, under Captain Schuyler—son of Peter Schuyler, President of the Council—to attempt a settlement at Irondequoit on Lake Ontario. Burnet hoped that others would join him there; but caused it to be clearly understood that the place was indisputably in the Indians' possession. It was merely to serve as a *depôt* of English goods, where Western traders, who would pass by the French establishment on the Niagara, were to be supplied on terms far more liberal than the French could afford. With the one possible exception of powder, the English could furnish everything used in the Indian trade more cheaply than the French, supplying, of course, rum instead of brandy, a substitution to which the red man made no demur, so long as the quantity was ample.

VIII. THE BUILDING OF FORT NIAGARA.

We are now come to the point in our story where the testimony of the ancient manuscripts is quickened, vivified, by an existing landmark. The stone house popularly known as the "castle," the most venerable of the group of structures in the Government reserve of Fort Niagara, dates, in its oldest parts, from 1726. Vaudreuil conceived the project of it; Longueuil the younger and Joncaire gained the uncertain consent of the Five Nations for its erection; and Gaspard Chaussegros de Lery, the King's chief engineer in Canada, determined its exact location and superintended its construction.

When the Marquis de Vaudreuil learned, Dec. 8, 1724, of the operations of the English at Oswego, he realized at

once that another move in the game must be made by the French if they would retain even a share of that portion of the fur trade which made the Great Lakes its highway to market. Joncaire's feeble establishment was in danger of eclipse, of being cut out, by the rum and other superior inducements which the English were so lavishly offering. It is evident that the Governor studied the situation thoroughly that winter. By spring he had made up his mind. He wrote to the Minister, May 25th, that, should the English undertake to make a permanent establishment at Oswego, nothing remained but to fortify Niagara. He could say "fortify" to the Minister, though to the Iroquois declarations must continue to be made, that their devoted father—Onontio—sought only to build a trading-house—a storehouse—anything, so long as it was not called fort. He proposed first to build two barques on Lake Ontario, which should not only carry materials for the proposed construction at Niagara, but could cruise the lake and intercept Indian parties on their way to trade with the English. The building at Niagara, the Minister was informed, "will not have the appearance of a fort, so that no offense will be given to the Iroquois, who have been unwilling to allow any there, but it will answer the purpose of a fort just as well."

The Intendant, M. Bégon, approved the project. Under date of June 10, 1725, he wrote to the Minister, that in view of the great importance of doing everything possible to prevent the English from driving the French from Niagara, "we have determined to build at Fort Frontenac two barques to serve in case of need against the English, to drive them from that establishment [Niagara] and also to serve for carrying materials with which to build a stone fort at Niagara, which we hold to be necessary to put that post in a state of defense against the English" as well as against the Iroquois. He added that these boats would be very useful in time of peace, sailing between La Galette, Frontenac and Niagara, and carrying provisions, munitions of war, merchandise for trade, and peltries, reducing the

expense below that of canoe service. "They will serve also as far as Niagara for the transport of provisions, merchandise and peltries for all those belonging to the posts in the upper country, or who go up with trade permits. The freight which they will be able to carry will compensate the King for the cost of construction.

"I sent, for this purpose, in February last, two carpenters and four sawyers, who arrived at Fort Frontenac, traveling on the ice, the 26th of the same month. I am informed that during the winter they cut the wood needed and have barked and sawed a part of it. I have also sent nine other carpenters and two blacksmiths, who set out from Montreal on the 15th of last month, to hurry on the work, that these boats may be ready to sail the coming autumn."³⁵

A postscript to this letter adds: "Since writing, M. de Joncaire has come down and tells me that the Iroquois will not interfere with building the boats, and will not oppose the Niagara establishment, asking only that there should not be built there a stone fort."

As the years passed, it was Joncaire who more and more represented the power of France on the Niagara. He it was to whom the Governor of Canada entrusted the delicate business of maintaining amicable relations with the Senecas; and on his reports and advice depended in considerable measure the attitude of the French towards their ever-active rivals. In November, 1724, Vaudreuil had written to the Minister that in order to retain the Five Nations in their "favorable dispositions," he thought he "could not do better than to send Sieur de Joncaire to winter at Niagara and among the Senecas. According to the news to be received from Sieur de Joncaire," added the Governor, "I shall determine whether to send Sieur de Longueuil to the Onontagués, among whom he has considerable influence."

35. These barques were commanded by sailing-masters Gagnon and Gouville. Each had four sailors, with six soldiers to help. A memorandum states that the operations of the vessels in 1727 cost 5775 livres, 3 sols (sous), 11 deniers. A sailor received for a season's work 530 livres, the masters 803 livres each.

That Joncaire's news was favorable, is evident from the sequel; for Longueuil was sent to the Onondagas, from whom he gained a dubious consent that the French might build a fort at the mouth of the Niagara. In June, 1725, Joncaire went down from the Seneca Castle—near present Geneva—to Quebec, where he assured the Intendant, Bégon, that the Iroquois were pledged not to interfere with the construction of the two barques then building at Fort Frontenac, "nor oppose the establishment at Niagara, only requiring that no stone fort should be erected there." According to the French reports, this last stipulation was soon set aside, for in the dispatches of Vaudreuil and Bégon to the Minister, dated May 7, 1726, telling of Longueuil's mission to the Five Nations, one reads as follows:

"He repaired next to Onontagué, an Iroquois village, and found the Deputies from the other four villages there waiting for him; he got them to consent to the construction of two barques, and to the erection of a stone house at Niagara, the plan of which he designed."

This mission of Longueuil proved an eventful one. He was charged to cross Lake Ontario to order the English to withdraw from Oswego. A curious meeting ensued. At the mouth of the river he found 100 Englishmen with sixty canoes. They stopped him, called for his pass, and showed him their instructions from the Governor of New York, not to let any Frenchman go by without a passport. Then the doughty Canadian, not relishing the idea of being under English surveillance, turned to the Iroquois chiefs who were present, and taunted them with being no longer masters of their own territory. His harangue had the desired effect. The Indians, galled by his words, broke out against the English with violent reproaches and threats. "You have been permitted to come here to trade," they said, "but we will not suffer anything more." They promised Longueuil that in the event of a French war with the English, they would remain neutral; and the delighted emissary turned his back on the discomfited Englishmen, who dared not interfere, and accompanied by a large volunteer retinue of Indians, continued his journey to Onondaga.

work pushed on with the greatest possible diligence." The King afterwards disapproved of any further outlay for "the old house," and Joncaire's establishment at the head of the lower navigation on the Niagara was never rebuilt.

It was true then, as now, that building expenses do not always work out according to specifications. In October, 1727, we find Dupuy trying to explain his heavy expenses: "The house at Niagara cost infinitely more than the 29,295 li. granted for last year. The expeditions which we have had to send there in 1726 and this year have greatly increased the cost of freight and transportation of provisions needed there."

Vaudreuil had hoped to have the vessels on Lake Ontario ready by the autumn of 1725; but no record is found stating that they sailed to the Niagara that year. The testimony of the correspondence, so far as known, shows that the vessels did not carry building material or workmen to the Niagara until navigation opened in the spring of 1726.³⁷ The Baron de Longueuil wrote, Oct. 31, 1725: "The two barques have been finished this autumn, they will be ready to sail next Spring, and to carry the stone and other material needed for building the stone house at Niagara," etc. They were to take out on their first voyage, ten masons and four carpenters and joiners, besides the 100 soldiers with six officers detailed for the enterprise.

Vaudreuil, as we have seen, had written that Longueuil had designed a plan for the proposed establishment on the Niagara, and it may have been in accordance with the suggestions of this soldier that the work was begun; but for such a construction as was desired, expert engineering ability was required. There was but one man in Canada qualified to undertake the task, and to him the Baron de

³⁷ The local histories and narratives relating to Fort Niagara usually give the date of its commencement as 1725. There is some discrepancy of dates in the documents, in copies of original documents, which I have examined; but it is plain that work on the "caserne" was not begun until June, 1726. That the reader may know on what I base my conclusions, I have given in my narrative ample extracts from the documents themselves.

Longueuil—then governor *ad interim*, wrote under date of March 28, 1726:

"I beg Monsieur Chaussegros de Lery, engineer, to work without let-up in building the Niagara house, which he will place wherever he shall judge it most advisable. It is a work of absolute necessity, the old house being of wood and offering no means of preservation, unless it is fortified. It is moreover the greatest consequence to profit by the favorable disposition of the Iroquois in regard to us. I undertake to have this expense approved by the Court."

Gaspard Chaussegros de Lery, who now becomes an important figure in the story of the Niagara, was the son of an engineer of Toulon, where he was born, Oct. 13, 1682. Trained to his father's profession, we find him, in 1706, serving in the army of Italy, and gaining glory and a wound at the siege of Turin. A later service in the squadron of the Marquis de Forbin, took him to the coast of Scotland and won him a captain's rank in the infantry regiment of Sault. When the navy board (for so we may render "*le conseil du marine*") decided in 1716 to undertake a more extensive system of fortifications in Canada, it chose De Lery to carry out the royal plans. These included an elaborate refortification of Quebec, the building of a wall around Montreal and subsequently of other works at Chambly, Three Rivers and other points, as well as the construction of prisons and public buildings. De Lery came at once to the scene of his labors, perfected the plan of what he proposed to do at Quebec, and returning to Paris, submitted it to the King. His plans and estimates were approved and he returned to Canada to press forward the work. The correspondence of the time shows that he was much embarrassed by lack of sufficient appropriations; a fact which gives special point to the closing statement in M. de Longueuil's letter, assigning him to Niagara. Not having received any order from the Court to undertake this work, De Lery was apprehensive that the King would not approve. However, relying on the assurance of Longueuil, he devoted himself to it in the summer of

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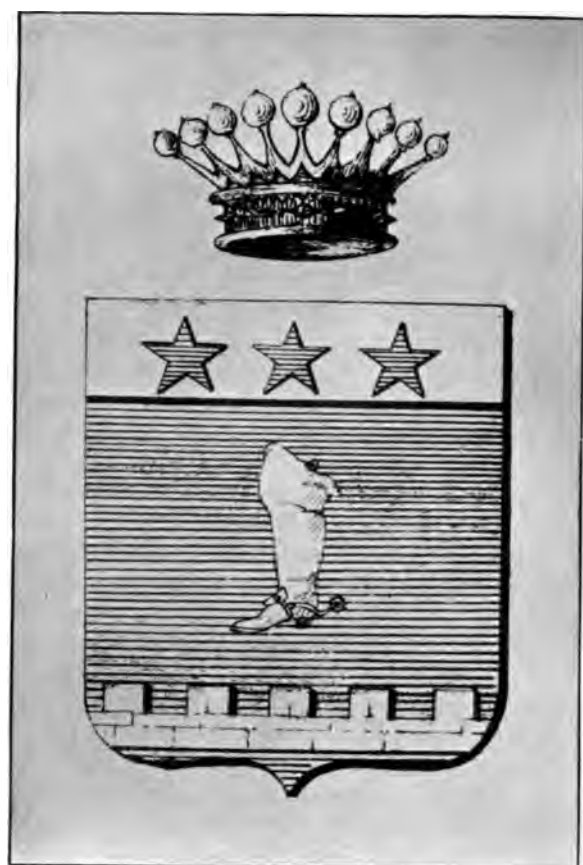
"I beg Monsieur Chaussegros de Lery, engineer, to work without let-up in building the Niagara house, which he will place wherever he shall judge it most advisable. It is a work of absolute necessity, the old house being of wood and offering no means of preservation, unless it is fortified. It is moreover the greatest consequence to profit by the favorable disposition of the Iroquois in regard to us. I undertake to have this expense approved by the Court."

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1726. Under date of July 26th of that year the Baron de Longueuil wrote to the minister :

"It is for me to inform you of the measures which I took this last spring for the establishment of the post of Niagara . . . and of my plan for sending to Niagara as soon as navigation was open, in order to forestall the English, and to begin early to work on the house of which we have had the honor to send you the plan, in order that it may be completed this year. M. Bégon assured me that he would send the workmen I had asked for, as soon as the ice went out, and that M. de Lery would come to Montreal at the same time. He arrived here in March; and in April I sent the workmen with a detachment of a hundred soldiers, commanded by my son and four other officers. As soon as they arrived at Niagara, I learn by these officers, M. de Lery had laid out the house in another place than that which I had proposed to him, and which had seemed to me most suitable in order to make us masters of the portage, and of the communication between the two lakes. He will no doubt give you his reasons.

"The work has been very well carried on and the fortifications are well advanced. The barques which were built last year at Frontenac have been of wonderful aid. They sent me word the tenth of this month that the walls were already breast high everywhere. There has been no opposition on the part of the Iroquois, who on the contrary appear well satisfied to have us near them; but the English, restless and jealous of this establishment, have seduced and engaged several Seneca chiefs to come and thwart us with speeches of which I send herewith a copy, and which have had no other effect than to reassure us of the good will of the Iroquois." He expresses the hope that the house at Niagara will be finished this year, refers to the Dutch and English at Oswego, and adds: "The uneasiness I have felt, because of the English and Dutch, who had threatened to establish themselves at Niagara, and my fears lest the Iroquois would retract the word they gave last year, have not permitted me to await your orders for the construction of



THE DE LERY ARMS.

this house. I beg you to approve what I have done through zeal for the good of this colony."

One of the "four other officers" referred to in the foregoing letter, as having shared in the building of Fort Niagara, was the *Sieur de Ramezay*, "*Chevalier of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis*," etc., as later memoirs recount his titles. He was only an ensign in the colonial troops in 1720, when he entered upon his Canadian service; and he remained in the garrison at Montreal until the spring of 1726, when he was appointed lieutenant and sent to Niagara. Another who shared in this undertaking was a son of *Lieut. Le Verrier*. The youth "showed good qualities in his service at Niagara," but becoming sick was sent back to Quebec. Still another unfortunate was the *Sieur de la Loge*, who received so severe an injury in one of his eyes, at Niagara in this summer, that it was feared he would lose the sight of both; he was sent to Quebec and thence to Paris, that he might have the attention of the famous oculist, *St. Yves*.

Under date of Sept. 5, 1726, the *Chevalier de Longueuil*, son of the Baron whose letter has been quoted, wrote from Niagara that the new house was very much advanced, and would have been finished had it not been for the sickness that broke out among the workmen, thirty of whom had been ill; but that the place was then enclosed and secured.

De Longueuil, who knew the region well, had proposed that the stone house should stand further up the river, and on going to the Niagara, after his successful conference at Onondaga, had decided to place it "on a most advantageous elevation, about 170 feet from the old house, and some 130 feet from the edge of the river; the barques could there be moored to shore, under the protection of the house, of which they could make later on, a fort with crenelated enclosure or wooden stockade"; but *De Lery* decided otherwise, holding that the angle of the lake and river not only commanded the portage and all communication between the lakes, but enabled the French to keep watch over Lake Ontario, so as to prevent the English from going

to trade on the north shore of that lake. The English could not cross the lake in their bark canoes; to reach the north side, the natural route was by skirting the shore, from Oswego to Niagara and westward. Hence, even though De Lery had placed the fort at the portage, the English might easily have seized the mouth of the river, and by controlling Lake Ontario, have blockaded the French in their fort and starved them into a surrender. They could have made it impossible for assistance to reach it from the base of supplies, Frontenac, or the river towns; and they could have made it equally impossible for the garrison of Fort Niagara to withdraw. The two barques which the French counted so greatly upon, for communication with the new establishment, would often find it a tedious if not impossible matter to beat up to the portage against seven miles of steady current; whereas the post, if placed at the mouth of the river, would always be accessible, these vessels making the passage from Fort Frontenac and return, in fair weather, in about fourteen days. All of these reasons are so cogent that one can but wonder that an officer of Longueuil's experience should have considered any other spot than that fixed upon by De Lery. The latter's capabilities as a military engineer were sometimes called in question. Montcalm, more than a quarter century later, spoke of him not only as "a great ignoramus in his profession," adding, "it needs only to look at his works," but declared that he "robbed the King like the rest" of the men who served as Engineers in Chief in Canada.³⁸ Be that as it may, De Lery's judgment in locating Fort Niagara was justified by the circumstances.

When the foundations of the stone house were laid and the walls were rising, De Lery traced a fort around them. He made a map of the lake, showing the mouth of the river, and prepared plans and elevations of the house. The drawings were forwarded to the King, and are described in the abstract of dispatches. The portion of the works which it

³⁸. Montcalm to M. de Normand, Montreal, April 12, 1759. Paris Docs., X, 963.

was found impossible to complete, before the winter of 1726-'27 set in, he colored yellow. He probably procured part of his stone from the Heights ("Le Platon"), his timber from the marsh west of the river. With the map there was also sent a memoir "to make plain my reasons for placing the house [*"maison à machicoulis"*] at the [entrance of the] strait, where it now stands, and where the late Marquis de Denonville, governor-general of this country, had formerly built a fort, with a garrison." He sent also a plan and estimate for a small house at the Niagara portage, adding: "This house will be useful in time of peace, but in case of war with the Indians, it could scarcely be maintained, on account of the difficulty of relieving the garrison." The memoir continues:

"I arrived, June 6th, with a detachment of troops, at the entrance to the river Niagara. The same day I examined it, with the masters of the barques. We found it not navigable for the barques." The examination must have been most superficial, for once past the bar at the mouth, they would have found a deep natural channel for seven miles.

"I remarked, in beginning this house, that if I built it, like those in Canada, liable to fire, should war come and the savages invest it, as was the case formerly with Mons. Denonville's fort, if it caught fire the garrison and all the munitions would be wholly lost, and the [control of the] country as well. It was this which determined me to make a house proof against these accidents. Instead of wooden partitions [*"cloisons"*] I have had built bearing-walls [*"des murs de refend"*], and paved all the floors with flat stones. . . . I have traced around a fort of four bastions; and in order that they may defend themselves in this house, I have made all the garret windows machicolated; the loft [*"grenier"*] being paved with flat stones on a floor full of good oak joists, upon which cannon may be placed above this structure. Though large it would have been entirely finished in September, had not some French voyageurs coming from the Miamis and Illinois, in passing this post, spread the fever here, so that nearly all the soldiers and

workmen have had it. This has interfered with the construction so that it has not been completed in the time that I had expected. There remains about a fourth of it to do next year. This will not prevent the garrison or traders from lodging there this winter." That his own services should not be overlooked he added: "I have the honor to inform you, Monsigneur, that my journeys to Niagara have occupied nearly five months."

De Lery's apprehensions regarding official approval of his choice of site for Fort Niagara were set at rest the next spring by the following letter from the new Minister of Marine:

"The Marquis de Beauharnois and M. Dupuy have forwarded to me the maps and plans which you sent to them, with data explaining your reasons for building the Niagara house where the late Marquis de Denonville had reared a wooden fort, which time has destroyed, instead of placing it at the portage where the old house stood. His Majesty is pleased to approve it. He is gratified with your zeal and the diligence with which you have conducted the work. . . . The Marquis has asked for you the Cross of St. Louis."³⁹

IX. THE MEN WHO ACHIEVED THE WORK.

While the King's engineer was busy with the plan and actual construction of the fort, Joncaire and his long-time friend and associate, the younger Longueuil, were fully occupied in keeping the savages in good humor. There is no known basis for the story that the French, resorting to stratagem, planned a hunt which should draw the Indians away from the spot until the building had progressed far enough to serve as a defense in case of attack.⁴⁰ Such a

39. Maurepas to Chaussegros de Lery, Brest, May 13, 1727. In later letters it is stated that M. de Lery was to receive the coveted decoration on Sept. 25, 1727.

40. "It is a traditionary story that the mess house, which is a very strong building and the largest in the fort, was erected by stratagem. A consider-

story does not accord with Joncaire's known relations with the Senecas.

It was a singular council that was held on the Niagara—probably at the old house at Lewiston—on July 14, 1726, between the younger de Longueuil and representatives of the Five Nations. Addressing himself to the officer, one of the chiefs referred to the conference of the preceding spring, and holding out a wampum belt, said: "I perceive my death approaching. It is you and the English who come to destroy us. I beg you, cease your work until I may hear your voice another time. Put the time at next September, when I will show you what is in my heart, as I hope you will open yours to me."

The shrewd commandant of Niagara was not to be diverted from his purpose. "Here is your belt, my son," he said, taking up the wampum. "I fold it and put it back in your bag." The return of the wampum always signified a rejection of proposals. "I put it back, not purposing to discontinue the works which they have sent me to do here. I hold fast to your former word, which consented that there should be built here a new and large house, to take the place of the old one, which can be no longer preserved.

"I do not consider these words you now speak as coming from you Iroquois, but as an English speech which shall not stop me. See, here on the table are wine and tobacco, which go better than this affair, which must be forgotten and which I reject."

As this "talk" was not confirmed by a belt, a second council was held at the unusual hour of midnight ("*tenu à minuit*"), at which a much finer belt of wampum was offered and accepted, with longer speeches, in which the Senecas

able, though not powerful, body of French troops had arrived at the point. Their force was inferior to the surrounding Indians, of whom they were under some apprehensions. They obtained consent of the Indians to build a wigwam, and induced them, with some of their officers, to engage in an extensive hunt. The materials had been made ready and while the Indians were absent the French built. When the parties returned at night they had advanced so far with the work as to cover their faces and to defend themselves against the savages in case of an attack."—"*The Falls of Niagara*," by Samuel DeVaux, Buffalo, 1839.

promised to stand by the pledges which the Onondagas had made. "It is not only for the present that I speak," said a chief, "but for always. We join hands for good business, we five Iroquois nations, and may we always keep faith, and you do the same on your side."

At the very outset of this new undertaking, the success of which he had so much at heart, Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, died at Quebec, Oct. 10, 1725, and was buried in the church of the Récollets at Château St. Louis. It would be superfluous here to enter upon a review of his long and on the whole successful administration; but it is pertinent to our especial study to recall his relations to the Niagara region. In France, as early as 1676, he had served in the Royal Musketeers. In the year of his arrival in Canada, 1687, we find him commanding a detachment of the troops of the Marine, engaging in the Iroquois campaign with Denonville, and sharing in the establishment of the ill-fated Fort Denonville at the mouth of the Niagara. The knowledge of the region gained then, undoubtedly affected his direction, throughout many years, of the endeavors of Joncaire and the younger de Longueuil. Soon after his first coming to Niagara, he was promoted to the rank of captain, for gallantry in the defense of Quebec against Phipps. He was decorated with the cross of St. Louis for a successful Indian campaign; and in 1698, when Callières succeeded Frontenac as Governor of Canada, the Chevalier de Vaudreuil succeeded Callières as Governor of Montreal. It was in 1703 that he again followed Callières, in the highest office of the colony. Though not a Canadian by birth, his connections by marriage were Canadian, and more than any other governor up to that time, he identified himself with colonial interests. The French in military or civil office in Canada were by no means always devoted to the welfare of the country; but Vaudreuil seems for the most part to have served it like a patriot. Throughout the twenty-two years of his administration, he had ever in view the promotion of the fur trade, the extension of French influence on the Lakes. His master-stroke in these efforts

was to be the establishment of Fort Niagara, regarding which Louis XV. had written to him with his own hand: "The post of Niagara is of the greatest importance, to preserve the trade with the upper countries." The King no doubt had derived his impressions from Vaudreuil's representations, but none the less, royal sanction was useful. Now, on the eve of achievement, his hand is withdrawn and another is to take up the work.

Louis XV. selected as the successor of Vaudreuil, Charles, Marquis de Beauharnois, a natural son of Louis XIV. He had been an office-holder in Canada a score of years prior to this date, having in 1702 succeeded M. de Champigny as Intendant. In 1705 he was appointed "Director of the Marine Classes" in France, but he was captain of a man-of-war when, Jan. 11, 1726, Louis XV. commissioned him to be Governor of Canada, an office which he was to administer until 1747, thus becoming a factor of no little consequence in the particular history that we are tracing. In the interim between Vaudreuil's death and the arrival of Beauharnois, that is, until Sept. 2, 1726, the first Baron de Longueuil was the chief executor for Canada. He solicited the governorship, but was without influence; the Court, it is said, was advised not to appoint a native Canadian. But the post which was denied him was, later on, to be filled by his son.

Chabert de Joncaire of the trading-house at the portage is spoken of at this period as the commander at Niagara⁴¹; it is not plain, however, that he was in command of troops at the new fort. In July, 1726, the son of the lieutenant governor of Montreal was sent with a small body of men to garrison the fort and complete the works. This man, with whom begins a succession of commandants of Fort Niagara which continues to the present day, was Charles Le Moyne the second—Le Moyne, it will be borne in mind, being the family name of the Baron de Longueuil. The first of that title was now a veteran of seventy years. The new commandant, too, had seen many years of service for the

41. N. Y. Col. Docs., IX, 979.

King in America, and had been on the Niagara before this time. As early as 1716 he had made a campaign beyond Detroit, into the Illinois country, and had been reported as killed. We have noted his great influence with the Indians; but the few glimpses afforded of him in the official documents give little idea of his personality, save in one respect: he was, at a somewhat later period than we are now considering, very corpulent, so that, in the language of the chronicle, he was "illy adapted for travel." He was forty years old when he came to command the new fort on the Niagara. Three years later he was to succeed, on the death of his father, to the title and estate of baron.

It should not be overlooked that this new establishment, which marked a new advance of France and was a new expression of that power, short-lived though it was to be, in the Lake region and Mississippi Valley, identifies with the story of the Niagara a scion of the greatest Canadian family of its period, and, in certain aspects, one of the most important and influential families concerned in making the history of America. Charles Le Moyne the immigrant, son of a tavernkeeper of Dieppe, played his part in the New World as pioneer, interpreter, and trader, marvelously prosperous for his day and opportunities. But the family fame begins with his many sons, several of whom appear on the pages of seventeenth and eighteenth century history by the surnames drawn from their seigneurial rights and estates. One of these sons, Charles, was that first Baron de Longueuil whom we have seen as a major in La Barre's expedition; campaigning with Denonville against the Senecas; helping in the establishment of the ill-fated fort on the Niagara which was built in 1687, and subsequently serving his King in many capacities, not least important of which was that as negotiator with the Iroquois, thus paving the way for the erection of the new Fort Niagara. These were incidents in his later years while serving as lieutenant governor of Montreal. In his more youthful days, and while his numerous younger brothers were still children, he had served in France; as one appreciative student has admirably summed

it up—"had, with his Indian attendant, figured at Court as related by the Duchess of Orleans in one of her letters to her sister, the Countess Palatine Louise; had married the daughter of a nobleman, a lady in waiting to her Royal Highness of Orleans; and had built that great fortress-château of Longueuil, the marvel of stateliness and elegance of the day for all Canada; and had obtained his patent of nobility and title of Baron."⁴² Of his brothers, six—Iberville, Saint Hélène, Maricourt, Sérigny, Bienville, Châteauguay—have written their names on the continent from Hudson's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico, none more largely or lastingly than Jean Baptiste Le Moyne, who as Bienville is known as the Father of Louisiana. And of his sons, Charles Le Moyne the second, born in 1687, was the captain, the chevalier and (on the death of his father) the second Baron de Longueuil; the adopted son of the Onondagas, the comrade and friend of Joncaire, and the first commandant of the new Fort Niagara.

A glimpse of the fort, during this interesting period of construction, is afforded by a letter written by the younger Longueuil to his father the baron. It is dated "Niagara, 5th September, 1726," and runs in part as follows:

There are no more English at Oswego or at the little fall. The last canoe which has gone to winter had to go on to Albany to find brandy, and they assure me that there is not one in the whole length of the lake or the river. This is the third canoe that has told me the same thing. If I meet any in the lake or going down, I will have them pillaged.

It will be October before I can leave here, and I do not know when we shall have finished. Sickness has constantly increased. We have now more than thirty men attacked by fever, and I find that our soldiers resist better than our workmen. If they could work, we should not have enough of them to put the house in state of security this month. It would certainly have been finished this year, but for the sickness. I mean the stonework, for M. de Lery having sent away the sawyers, we have not enough planks to half cover it. The master-carpenter is sick and has done nothing for fifteen days. We shall cover what we can, and then close the gable

42. Grace King's "New Orleans," p. 15.

with the joist of the scaffolding. (" . . . *bouchera le pignon avec les madriers d'échafaudage.*") If they (the gables) are not entirely enclosed, they will at any rate be protected by the walls all around.

He adds that as soon as possible, he shall send back the married men, who are good-for-nothing weepers (*les pleureux qui ne valent rien*), no doubt a true-enough characterization of the home-loving *habitant*, who in the savage-infested wilderness of the Niagara found himself homesick even to tearfulness.

Among the French officers at Niagara in the summer of 1726 was Pierre Jacques Payen, Captain de Noyan; who wrote, probably in the fall of that year,⁴³ to the Marquis de Beauharnois, as follows:

"As I believe, monsieur, that you have not recently been informed regarding the establishment at Niagara, I crave the honor of telling you as to the condition of the house when I left there, and such news as I learned on my way.

"I set out from Niagara the 8th of this month. The works would have been finished by this time, had not frequent rains and the violent fevers which attacked nearly all our workmen, long delayed their completion.

"There remained yet twelve or fifteen days' work of masonry to do, and there is reason to fear that the timber framework is not yet ready to put up. Whatever diligence M. de Longueuil may have been able to use, he could not procure planks enough to cover it."

The letter continues with a graphic account of negotiations between the English and the Iroquois, as it was reported to Capt. de Noyan at Fort Frontenac. It is but another version of the unsuccessful negotiations of Peter Schuyler—this time disguised in the old French as "Joan

43. The copy of M. de Noyan's letter which I have followed in the Archives office at Ottawa, bears date Feb. 22, 1726. The original obviously was written some months later than that, probably in September. The old form of indicating September—"7bre"—may very likely have been misread by a copyist. September 22d also accords with the date of a report by de Noyan, given in an abstract of despatches relating to Niagara, N. Y. Col. Docs., IX, 978.

Sckuila." "You know," Schuyler is reported to have harangued to the tribes, "you know that the French are building a fort at Niagara in order to reduce you to slavery—and you are resting with your arms crossed. What are you thinking of? We are all dead, brothers, you and I, if we do not prevent our loss by the destruction of this building. Look at these barques, which will carry you off captive. It is for you to say whether they have been built by your consent." And after listening to more in like strain, the Indians returned Schuyler's wampum belt, and replied with cool sarcasm that he always said the same thing to them. "Yes," they added, "it is we who have desired these boats, we consented to what our son [M. de Longueuil] asked of us, we repent of nothing. . . . It is a thing done. We have given our word."

It was at this council that Schuyler asked the consent of the Five Nations for the English to build a trading-house opposite the French post [*"bâtir aussi à Niagara une maison vis-à-vis celle de votre Père"*]; but to this proposition they returned the wampum, saying they would have nothing to do with it, and Schuyler could arrange as best he might with "Onontio." There is a triumphant tone in Capt. de Noyan's letter, reporting this defeat of the English at so critical a time. English enmity now centered on Joncaire, who was regarded as the chief instrument of their discomfiture. It was reported that certain Seneca chiefs were bribed to make way with him. One of the few letters written by Joncaire which are preserved, was written at the end of 1726, at Fort Niagara, apparently to his friend the younger Longueuil, then commanding at Fort Frontenac. It runs in part as follows:

NIAGARA, 26 December, 1726.

I am obliged to you for the notice which you gave me by your letter of December 28th, concerning the council which was held between the Iroquois nations and the governors of Boston and New York.

Tagariuoghen, chief of the Sault Ste. Louis, and one named Alexis, chief of the Lake of the Two Mountains, have just acknowledged to us the design of the English, and the promises which

the Iroquois made to them, concerning the house at Niagara, and me. I learned the same thing toward the end of November at the Seneca village where I had gone, after giving the necessary orders for the Niagara garrison, to reply to a belt which the Iroquois had send to the Governor at Montreal.

I found in this village only coldness towards us and any good words which I could say to them were scarcely listened to. The next night, toward midnight, they wakened me for a council; and being come there, they begged me to treat peaceably with them, that there was no need of heat on the part of any of us.

First, they said, the house at Niagara did not please them; that they strongly suspected that it was only the Onondagas who consented to its construction, and that the four other nations had no part in it.

Second, that M. de Longueuil had promised to make a present of three barrels of powder and a proportion of balls to each nation, but they had seen nothing of all that.

They held out to me a belt for these things, but I would not touch it, and contented myself with telling them that their belt was a rattlesnake which would bite me if I took it in my hand, and that moreover their father Onontio had sent me to Niagara to listen to good words and not to bad.

As to the house in question, it was the strongest pillar of the five Iroquois nations, since M. de Longueuil had intended in making it to deliver them from the slavery in which they had for a long time been. But [I said], as I saw that I was speaking to deaf men, I told them that they might make their speeches to people who knew how to answer. The Iroquois replied:

"We hear you. You say that we should address Onontio. That was indeed our first thought, for our resolution is made for next spring."

The next day I noised it about that I saw clearly that their minds were divided, but that I hoped that they would find for us, as much as for the English, and that it was useless for them to talk to me of abandoning the building ("*de vider le plancher*"), they could be assured that I should not quit Niagara until they had cut my body to pieces to give pleasure to the English—and that even then they would have to deal with people who would come to look after my bones. I have still a trick ("*un plat de mon métier*") to show them in the spring—I put it aside till then, since my emissaries are not at the village, and whether it succeeds or not I shall promptly send my two oldest sons to Montreal to inform my superiors of the state of affairs in this country.

One must restrain the Iroquois [*? Senecas*] in every way in this present affair, but it is necessary to interpose the Onondagas, and say to the Iroquois nations: Since when do you make no longer one body with the Onondagas? You have told us every year that what one Iroquois nation does or says, all the others agree to. Since when is all that changed? How comes it that when the English ask you which nation it was that gave permission to the French to build at Niagara, that in the presence of you all the Onondaga replied fiercely, "It was I." How happens it that you did not dispute this before the English?

After all, I hope that the Holy Spirit which commonly gives to those who govern the State more light than to others, will furnish enough means to our superiors to confound the Iroquois and so reestablish peace.

As for me, trust to my looking out for myself against the assassination which the English have at all times wished to accomplish. Whoever undertakes it will have half the risk. I will serve him as they do in Valenciennes.

I beg you to communicate what I send you to Messieurs de Beauharnois, Intendant, and to our Governor at Montreal, and above all to so inform M. de Longueuil that he will be assured of the care which I take in the present affair.

A little later Joncaire wrote again to the younger de Longueuil at Fort Frontenac:

" . . . Inform our superiors of what has happened to me in this country. It is for them to direct what I should say and do. The Iroquois will go down to Montreal next spring to demand that we pull down the house at Niagara. If they destroy it," adds Joncaire with a fine touch of the Gascon, "it will only be when I, at the head of my garrison, shall have crossed in Charon's barque—I shall show them the road to victory or to the tomb." Nevertheless, he adds the fervent hope: "May God change the hearts of those who are against us."

It was not until the end of another season—Oct. 17, 1727—that Chaussegros de Lery reported to the Minister that the house at Niagara was entirely finished, surrounded with palisades and furnished with a guard-house to prevent surprise by the savages. Referring to the English at Oswego, he could not refrain from calling attention to the fact that events had justified his choice of site for Fort

Niagara: "The English are established at the mouth of Oswego river, they have built a little fortified work [*"petite redoubt à machicoulis"*] and keep a garrison there. The French have always been masters of this post and of the south side of Lake Ontario. If they had built the stone house as proposed at the portage, it is certain that the English would have made another on Lake Ontario. This house at the portage appears to me useless. The old one, with some small repairs, will serve yet some years." He adds that if he "had been the master" the last year it would have been easy for him to establish the French at Oswego as well as at Niagara; evidently forgetting for the moment that he had not established the French anywhere, however satisfactory from an engineering point of view his services on the Niagara had proved. Our study of the documents makes clear that Fort Niagara was made possible, under the encouraging policy of Vaudreuil, only by the devotion and personal influence of the younger de Longueuil and Chabert de Joncaire.

X. POLITICAL ASPECT OF THE STRIFE ON THE NIAGARA.

What may be termed the political situation in the country of the Six Nations, and especially among the Senecas who kept the Western Door of the Long House, in the years from the building of Joncaire's house at Lewiston to the construction and garrisoning of Fort Niagara, 1720-26, admirably illustrates the difficulty of treating with the Indian. Even the noble Iroquois was fickle, given to double-dealing; yet it was a duplicity inherent in a lower degree of social development than that from which his Caucasian tempters approached him. The wisest of their sachems were statesmen in some matters, children in others. The Senecas adopted Joncaire according to their ancient custom, and through him gave the French their foothold on the Niagara. At the same time, tempted by the trade inducements of the English, they helped the Western tribes to go to Albany, to the confusion of the French, and allowed the English to get and to keep a footing in their own territory.

So matters continued until Longueuil, by his *coup de maître* of 1725, gained permission in a council at Onondaga to build what soon proved to be a fort, in Seneca territory. We have already traced the steps of that construction, as recorded in the reports of the French. When Burnet heard of it, as he speedily did, down in New York, he may well have wondered what all his fair speeches to the Indians had accomplished, what all the tiresome councils had amounted to, of what avail the many lavish gifts.

At the September council at Albany in 1726 he took the tribes to task. How is it, he demanded, have you given your consent to the French, to build this house at Niagara? The answer was characteristic, but far from satisfactory. One Ajewachtha, an Onondaga sachem, was the mouthpiece for the occasion. When Longueuil was among the Onondagas last year, said the sachem, the Senecas heard what his errand was, and "sent a Belt of Wampum, . . . that in case the French should desire to make any Building or Settlement at Niagara or at Ochswееke⁴⁴ or elsewhere on land, they should not give their consent to it. . . . The Onondagas being prevail'd upon by Fair speeches and promises, rejected the Sinnekes belt, and gave the French leave for building at Niagara." De Longueuil, the sachem added, had promised that the French would protect them for three hundred years.

Did the land at Niagara, asked Governor Burnet, belong to the Onondagas, or to the Senecas, or to all the Six Nations?

The Seneca sachem, Kanaharighton, replied that it belonged to the Senecas particularly.

Do the sachems of the other Five Nations acknowledge that?

They all said it did; not only the land at Niagara belonged to the Senecas, but the land opposite it, on the other side of Lake Ontario.

44. "Called by the French *Lac Erié*."—Marginal note in New York Council Minutes, XV, 87.

What business then, asked Burnet, had the Onondagas to grant the French permission to build there, when the land belonged only to the Senecas?

"The Onondagas say it is true they have done wrong, they might better have left it alone and have left it to the Sinnekes whose Land it is, they repent of it and say that People often do what they afterwards repent of."

The Onondaga further explained that the consent which had been given by his people, without leave of the other nations, was in accordance with their old customs; one nation often spoke in the name of all the rest in the League. If the others afterwards approved of it, it was well; if any of them disapproved, the pledge was void. The Six Nations had sent Seneca and Onondaga sachems with a belt of wampum to the French at Fort Niagara, to protest against the proceedings and ordering the work to stop. But the French had not the red man's regard for the talking belts. We can not stop work, they said, with what show of gravity and regret may be imagined; "being sent and order'd by the Governour of Canada to build it," they "durst not desist from working." But they readily promised that Joncaire, who was soon going to Montreal, should inform the Governor that the Six Nations wished the work stopped; "he would bring back an Answer at Onondaga by the latter end of September (when the Indian corn was ripe), and then they threw their Belt back and rejected it by which they had spoke, and said they thought they were sent by the Govr of New York, on which they [the sachems] replied that they were not sent by him, but by the Sachims of the Six Nations, and did not know who had given the French that liberty, that they did not know it, and desired that they would name the Sachims who had given their leave, on which they [the French] did not reply, but said that when the House was finished 30 souldiers would be posted there with Officers and a Priest."

This and much more the Indians told Governor Burnet. In the same breath, the Onondagas took all the blame to

themselves, and charged the French with perfidy. The Governor adroitly explained to them that France and England were at peace, and gave them to understand that it was not the English, but the Six Nations, whose interests were threatened by the new fort at the mouth of the Niagara. He read to them that portion of the Treaty of Utrecht which bore on the matter. The chief question, he gravely pointed out, was, whether the fort was prejudicial to them in their hunting, or to the Western Indians who might wish to come for trade. If they said it was not, His Excellency had nothing to say, and the French had done well; but if the Six Nations found it prejudicial to their interests, and complained of it to him, he would lay the matter before the English King. The Indians replied:

"Brother Corlaer, . . . you ask if we approve of the building at Niagara; we do not only complain against the proceedings of the French in fortifying Niagara on our Land contrary to our inclination and without our consent, to pen us up from our chief hunting-place, but we also humbly beg and desire that Your Excell: will be pleased to write to His Majesty King George that he may have compassion on us, and write to the King of France to order his Governor of Canada to remove the building at Niagara, for we think it very prejudicial to us all." And this the Governor agreed to do.

Nothing could be finer than the temper and adroitness with which Burnet conducted this matter. At the opening of the conference his attitude was that of accuser, of one deeply wronged; the attitude of the Indians that of culprits and deceivers. This aspect of their relations was quickly annulled by the calm, judicial air which the Governor gave to his inquiries. With rare insight into Indian character, he so presented the case that they became the wronged parties, the French the sole offenders, and himself merely the gracious friend who sought to do all he could in their behalf.

This conference was held on September 7th. Two days later, the Governor made a long, impressive speech to the

sachems. He reviewed the relations of the Five Nations to the French from the earliest days, not failing to show that the latter had been constant aggressors and treacherous enemies, and he pictured the building of the fort at Niagara as a new affront, which endangered the very existence of the Confederacy. His words had their intended effect. The sachems renewed their protestations, in terms of singular earnestness. "We speak now," said Kanackarighton, the Seneca, "in the name of all the Six Nations and come to you howling. This is the reason for what we howl, that the Governor of Canada incroaches on our land and builds thereon, therefore do we come to Your Excellency, our Brother Corlaer, and desire you will be pleased to write to the great King, Your Master, and if Our King will then be pleased to write to the King of France, that the Six Nations desire that the Fort at Niagara may be demolished. This Belt we give to you, Our Brother [Corlaer], as a token that you be not negligent to write to the King, the sooner the better, and desire that the letter may be writ very pressing."

Not the least gratifying point to the Governor in this harangue was the expression "*our* King." The treaty commissioners at Utrecht, thirteen years before, had agreed that the New York Indians were subjects of Great Britain; but the Indians themselves were sometimes provokingly oblivious of the relationship.

Governor Burnet took advantage of the complaisant and suppliant mood of the sachems to suggest that, since they were asking the King of Great Britain to protect them in their own lands, it would be most proper "to submit and give up all their hunting Country to the King, and to sign a deed for it," as it had been proposed to do twenty-five years before. He intimated that had it been done then, they would have had a fuller measure of protection from the English. After consultations, the proposition was accepted, and the deed of trust, which had been executed July 19, 1701, was confirmed and signed by Seneca, Cayuga and Onondaga sachems. Thus at Albany, Sept. 14, 1726, in

the thirteenth year of George I, was deeded to the English, a sixty-mile strip along the south shore of Lake Ontario, reaching to and including the entire Niagara frontier.

The mighty League of the Iroquois had atoned for their blunder of letting the French build Fort Niagara in their domain, by giving it to King George. From this time on the "stone house" was on British soil; but it was yet to take the new owner a generation to dispossess the obnoxious tenant.

The fifteenth Article of the Treaty of Utrecht is as follows:

"The subjects of France inhabiting Canada, and others, shall in future give no hindrance or molestation to the Five Nations or Cantons of Indians, subject to the Dominion of Great Britain, nor to the other natives of America who are in friendly alliance with them. In like manner, the subjects of Great Britain shall behave themselves peaceably towards the Americans who are subjects or friends of France, and they shall enjoy, on both sides, full liberty of resort for purposes of Trade. Also the natives of these countries shall, with equal freedom, resort, as they please, to the British and French Colonies, for promoting trade on one side and the other, without any molestation or hindrance on the part either of British or French subjects; but who are, and who ought to be, accounted subjects and friends of Britain or of France is a matter to be accurately and distinctly settled by Commissioners."

This was assented to by the representatives of England and of France, who signed the treaty of which it is a part, at Utrecht, April 11, 1713. In due time it was promulgated in the Colonies. England in the valley of the Mohawk, and France on the Great Lakes, were at work, with such seductive influences as they could exert, for the friendship of the savages and a greater profit from the fur trade. It was not, however, until Joncaire's cabin stood at the foot of the Niagara rapids, that the English took genuine alarm at what they regarded as the impudent encroachment of the French, and fell back upon the terms of the treaty for a definition of rights.

We have seen (pp. 129) that in 1721 Governor Burnet made a spirited protest against the establishment of Joncaire's trading house, of which Vaudreuil had made an equally spirited, but not equally logical, defense. Protests of this sort being so obviously of no avail, correspondence on the subject between the Governors seems to have ceased. But when word reached Burnet of the new fort at the mouth of the river his ire was kindled afresh. On July 5, 1726, he wrote to M. de Longueuil, then acting Governor, pending the arrival of Beauharnois, a vigorous, but by no means offensive letter on the subject. He had learned, he wrote, that about a hundred Frenchmen were at Niagara, commencing the erection of a fort, "with the design of shutting in the Five Nations, and preventing the free passage of the other Indians at that point to trade with us as they have been in the habit of doing." He expressed his surprise that the French should undertake a project so obviously an infraction of the Treaty of Utrecht; denied that La Salle's brief occupancy of the region gave the French any rights, and reminded the Governor that the lands at Niagara belonged to the Five Nations. "Should the fortifying Niagara be continued," he added in conclusion, "I shall be under the necessity of representing the matter to my Superiors, in order that the Court of France, being well informed of the fact, may give its opinion thereupon; as I have heard that it has already expressed its disapprobation of the part Mr. de Vaudreuil took in the War of the Abenakis against New England."

Burnet sent his friend Philip Livingston, of the Colonial Council, to Montreal with this letter, and begged of M. de Longueuil considerate treatment of the messenger. The messenger was well enough received, but the reply which the Canadian soldier sent back, under date of August 16th, was far from apologetic. "Permit me, Sir, to inform you," it ran, "that it is not my intention to shut in the Five Iroquois Nations, as you pretend, and that I do not think I contravene the Utrecht Treaty of Peace in executing my orders from the Court of France, respecting the reestablish-

ment of the Niagara post, whereof we have been the masters from all time. The Five Nations, who are neither your subjects nor ours, ought to be much obliged to you to take upon you an uneasiness they never felt, inasmuch as, so far from considering that the establishment at Niagara may prove a source of trouble to them, they were parties to it by a unanimous consent, and have again confirmed it in the last Council holden at Niagara, on the 14th of July last."

De Longueuil, it will be observed, squarely contradicted the clause in the treaty which declared the Five Nations to be "subject to the dominion of Great Britain." His audacity was symbolical of the entire policy of France on the wilderness frontiers at this period. This feature of Baron de Longueuil's reply may well have surprised the English Governor. It would, no doubt, have surprised him still more had Longueuil meekly yielded to his demands, and promised to leave the Niagara. It was to be expected that he would base the French claim on the flimsy pretext of continuous right from La Salle's day; but that, in addition to this claim, he should have the effrontery to deny and defy the plain declaration of the treaty, was matter for amazement.

As we have seen, at the Albany conferences with the Indians, in September, Burnet had promised to lay the case—their case, as he made it appear to them—before the King. With his unfruitful correspondence with Longueuil fresh in mind he was more than willing to do so. Before the close of the year—presumably by the first ship that served, which happened to be the *Old Beaver*, Mathew Smith, master,—he despatched long letters on the subject, both to the Lords of Trade and to the Duke of Newcastle, King George's Secretary of State. For the edification of the former, he rehearsed at length all that had taken place; told of the action taken at the conferences with the Indians; exulted a little, as was natural, in announcing that they had signed a deed surrendering the land they lived in to the British Crown; and enclosed a copy of the deed with this explanation of the fact that it was signed by only three of

the nations: "The Maquese [Mohawks] and Oneydes live nearest to us, and do not reach to the French lake, and therefore there was no occasion to mention the matter to them, and if I had proposed it publickly to them, it might soon have been known by the French, and have produced some new enterprize of theirs, so that I thought it best to do it with a few of the cheif and most trusty of the three nations who border upon the lakes."

He sent to the Lords copies of his correspondence with Longueuil, and called especial attention to that officer's denial of the Treaty. "The Treaty says," wrote Burnet, "'*The five Nations or Cantons of Indians, subject to the Dominion of Great Britain.*' Mr. De Longueuil denys it expressly and says, '*Les cinq Nations qui ne sont ny vos Sujets ny les Nôtres.*' The Five Nations who are neither your Subjects nor ours." He pointed out the other aggravating and inconsistent features of Longueuil's letter.

To His Grace the Duke the Governor made a more concise but equally strenuous report, adding his "most earnest application" that Newcastle would "obtain His Majesty's directions, that strong instances may be made at the Court of France for this purpose, which I hope will be successful at a time when there is so firm an alliance between the two Crowns. . . . This is a matter of such consequence to His Majesty's Dominions in North America that I humbly rely on Your Grace's obtaining such a redress, as the Treaty entitles this Province and the Six Nations to, from the French, which can be [no] less than a demolition of this fort at Niagara."⁴⁵

The Duke of Newcastle put the whole matter into the hands of Horatio Walpole, with instructions from King George that he should present it "in its full light" to the Ministers of the Court of France, "and to use all the necessary arguments to prevail on them to dispatch orders to the officer commanding in Canada to demolish that fort, and His Majesty doubts not but they will comply as soon as they

45. Burnet to the Duke of Newcastle, N. Y., Dec. 4, 1726.

shall be informed precisely of the state of this affair."⁴⁶ Walpole prepared a memoir on Fort Niagara which he submitted, May 9, 1727, to the aged Cardinal de Fleury, Prime Minister of France.⁴⁷ In it he rehearsed at length the grievances which Burnet had communicated. Beyond the employment of a more polished style, Walpole's memoir on Niagara added nothing to the facts or the arguments as we have already reviewed them. At the end of his recital of facts, Walpole added the following:

"It is to be remarked, that the Nations in question are formally acknowledged, by the Treaty of Utrecht, to be subject to and under Great Britain, and in virtue of the same Treaty they and all the Indians are to enjoy full liberty of coming and going for the purpose of trade, without molestation or hindrance. Now, the pass at Niagara is that by which the Far Indians are able to repair to the country of the Five Nations, and also the only one by which the Five Nations themselves can go into their own territory to hunt; and in spite of the benevolent and innocent views Sieur de Longueuil pretends to entertain in building such a fort, the Indians cannot be reputed to enjoy free trade and passage so long as they are bridled by a fort built on their own territory, against their will, and which absolutely subjects them to the pleasure of the French, wherefore they have recourse to their Sovereign and King, the King of Great Britain, who cannot refuse to interest himself strongly, as well on account of these subjects as for the maintenance of Treaties."

In this smooth, featureless form, the innocuous phrases of a somewhat perfunctory diplomacy, Louis XV. received the English protest against the building of Fort Niagara—that protest for which the Iroquois' sachems had gone to Albany "howling," and which they had begged should be "writ very pressing." Kanackarighton, the daubed and

46. Duke of Newcastle to the Hon. Horatio Walpole, Whitehall, April 11, 1727.

47. DeFleury, formerly preceptor to the King, in 1726 succeeded the Duke de Bourbon Condé as Prime Minister of France, being then seventy-three years old. He lived until January, 1743.

greasy Seneca, and Horatio Walpole, the courtier, were vastly farther apart than even the Court of France and the Niagara wilderness—of which it is plain Walpole's ideas were of the vaguest. Many a forest ranger would have laughed at his claim that the fort at the mouth of the Niagara kept the Senecas from their hunting grounds. The germ of this specious plea lay in Burnet's benevolent suggestion to the Senecas, but it helped make a case against the French, and there were few either at Whitehall or the Court of Louis competent to criticise or likely to question it. Indeed, had the red Indians themselves made their "howl" before the French King and his ministers, the result, beyond the infinite diversion which they would have made, would scarcely have been different. Even while the English protest was taking its official course, Louis and his ministers were affirming that "the post at Niagara is of the utmost importance for the preservation to the French of the trade to the upper country," and were considering the amounts to be spent on "the reconstruction of the old house at Niagara [Joncaire's Magazin Royal], the expense whereof, amounting to 20,430 li., may be placed on the estimate of the expenses payable in 1728 by the Domain of the West."⁴⁸

King George I. died June 11, 1727; and, in Canada, in 1726, the Marquis de Beauharnois had succeeded the Baron de Longueuil; but the Niagara contention continued. Burnet in the spring of 1727 having built and fortified a stone house at Oswego, the new Governor of Canada at once assumed the aggressive; sent a formal summons to Burnet to withdraw his garrison thence within a fortnight, and "to cast down the block house and all pieces of work you raised up contrary to righteousness," "or else His Lordship the Marquis of Beauharnois will take measures against you and against your unjust usurpation as he will think fit." With a fine solicitude for a rigid adherence to the Treaty of 1713, the humor of which must even then have shown itself to Burnet, if not to Beauharnois, the French Governor accused

⁴⁸. Abstract of Despatches relating to Oswego and Niagara, N. Y. Col. Docs., IX, 979. The remark quoted above, on Niagara's importance, is a note by the King himself.

the English Governor of "a plain contravention to the Treaty of Utrecht, which mentions that the subjects of the two Crowns shall not intrench upon one another's land, till the decision of the limits by the judges delegated to that end"—a decision which was never made, for the commissioners contemplated by the 15th article of the Treaty were never appointed. The English contention, as afterwards formulated by Walpole in his memoir on Fort Oswego, was that their fortification at that point was no violation of the Treaty, "since the Commissioners to be named would have nothing to determine relative to the countries of the Five Nations, who are already declared by the Treaty of Utrecht to be subjects to the Crown of England." This was a perfectly just deduction from the obvious intent of the treaty.

Burnet replied to the arrogant demand of Beauharnois with his usual spirit and good sense; reminding him that when he (Burnet) had protested against the operations of the French at Niagara, he had been content with writing to Court, for the English Ambassador to make dignified and decorous presentation at the Court of France: "I did not send any summons to Niagara, I did not make any warlike preparations to interrupt the work, and I did not stir up the Five Nations to make use of force to demolish it, which I might have done easily enough." In a long letter, he defended his right, under the treaty, to build at Oswego, and denied again the right of the French to occupy Niagara: "It is true, sir, that I have ordered a stone house to be built there [at the mouth of the Oswego], with some contrivances to hinder its being surprised, and that I have posted some souldiers in it, but that which gave me the first thought of it, was the fortified and much larger house which the French have built at Niagara, upon the lands of the Five Nations."

In due time report of this correspondence reached the Lord Commissioners of Trade. Under date of Dec. 21, 1727, they referred it all once more to Newcastle; and His Grace in turn placed it in the hands of Horatio Walpole. Recalling the memoir on the subject of Fort Niagara which Walpole had made the year before, Newcastle wrote to him:

"Both that Memoir and his Eminence's answer to you, promising to give orders to examine this matter, and to decide according to justice, led us to expect that there would not be any more cause for complaint, but as, instead of seeing it remedied, His Majesty has been advised that the French think of encroaching still further on the countries under his obedience in said quarter, he has deemed it expedient that you again apply to the Court of France to induce it to transmit the most precise orders to the Governor of Canada to abstain from attempting anything contrary to the Treaties, so that all these differences between the subjects of the two Crowns may be terminated in such a manner that the Indians may visit each other without molestation, and the Five Nations receive such encouragement and protection from His Majesty as they must naturally expect from their Sovereign."⁴⁹

The result of these instructions was Walpole's memoir on Oswego, laid before the French Prime Minister, March 9, 1728.

The 15th article of the Utrecht Treaty continued a fruitful source of disagreement for many years to come. In 1748 we find Gov. Clinton of New York carrying on an epistolary dispute with La Galissonière, who had succeeded de Beauharnois, over this same debatable article. The French Governor had his own interpretation of it, alleging that it "does not name the Iroquois, and though it did so, it would be null in their regard, since they never acquiesced therein: we have always regarded them as Allies in common of the English and French, and they do not look on themselves in any other light." "You are misinformed," replied Clinton, "for they have done it [i. e. submitted themselves to Great Britain] in a solemn manner, and their subjection has been likewise acknowledged by the Crown of France in the Treaty of Utrecht."⁵⁰ This disparity of view between the two countries continued as long as France held Canada.

49. Newcastle to Walpole. The letter as printed in N. Y. Col. Docs., IX, 959, is dated "Whitehall, 16th May (O. S.), 1726," but the year should be 1728.

50. Clinton to La Galissonière, Fort George in New York, Oct. 10, 1748.

XI. FORT NIAGARA AND THE FUR TRADE.

For a decade and more following the building of the new fort, Joncaire the elder continued active in matters relating to the history of the Niagara. He was not military commandant, except apparently for a short period; nor was he in charge of barter with the Indians at that post. Coming and going, now at the Seneca villages, now at Niagara, or again at his home in Montreal, he continued in the military service, but always charged with the special duty, which accorded well with his frequent service of interpreter, of cultivating cordial relations with the Senecas, and of reporting on the movements of the English—duties in which later on his eldest son is to succeed him, when the father is assigned to a new field of activity.

From the day when Chaussegros de Lery broke ground for the great stone building at the angle of lake and river, life on the Niagara became more and more complex. The building operations drew thither hordes of curious and jealous Indians. The trading-post at present Lewiston was still maintained, and in its neighborhood, at the foot of the portage, as well as at the head of the long carry, were settlements of the Senecas, many of whom found profitable employment in helping traders and travelers up and down the steep hills. Although the Mississaugas had not yet made their village across the Niagara from the new fort, they made temporary camp there and haunted the region in numbers during this busy summer. However deserted and desolate these lake and river shores may have been when winter shut down, and the wolf's long howl at the edge of the forest answered the west wind in its sweep over the bleak lake, there was varied life and activity when the ice broke up. Then came endless flotillas of bark canoes, loaded with peltries. The fur trade was old, long before the stone house at Niagara was built. Into the general history and conditions of that trade, it is unnecessary to go in these chapters. But certain features of that trade, and of the attendant life, heretofore unrecorded save in the long-neglected documents, may profitably be set down here in illustration of the conditions of the time on the Niagara and the lower lakes.

The great purpose of the French in building the new fort on the Niagara was to regain the fur trade which was fast slipping from them into the hands of the English. The strategic advantage of the military occupation of the strait was not overlooked; but it was far less by way of preparation for a future contest at arms with England, than to secure purely commercial advantage, that the work was undertaken. And, from the French point of view, it was high time that something decisive be done. More and more the western tribes, who ravaged the great beaver-bearing grounds of the upper lake region, were being drawn to Oswego and Albany by the superior allurements of the English. Longueuil, reporting to his father the baron concerning his Onondaga mission of 1725, wrote that he had seen more than a hundred canoes on Lake Ontario, making their way to Oswego. How to stop this trade was a matter of grave consequence to Canada. Returning from Onondaga, he had encountered many canoes, propelled by Nipissings and Sauteurs from the Huron regions, making their way into Lake Ontario by the Toronto River, and all headed for the mouth of the Oswego. The new barques, he reflected, should stop this. The Baron de Longueuil, in reporting his son's discoveries, added the further information that sixteen Englishmen had gone to trade at the Niagara portage, "where they appear to have wintered, having taken there a large quantity of merchandise. They even came within a day and a half of Frontenac, and have drawn to them by their brandy nearly all the savages, which has done so great an injury to the trade of these two posts that they will not produce this year a half of their usual amount." The French at this time heard some things that were not so. There are many reports that the English intended to establish themselves at Niagara; such rumors had been current at Montreal and Quebec ever since 1720, when the English had proposed to put horses on the Niagara portage; the profits of that enterprise were to be shared with a Seneca chief who was to represent the English. But that project came to naught, nor is there convincing proof that the Eng-

lish, either in 1720, 1725, or at any other time, were on the Niagara in trade, during the French occupancy.

More credible, however, was the further news, gathered by the younger Longueuil in this momentous summer of 1725, that English and Dutch traders at Albany had bought 200 bark canoes from the Ottawas and Mississaugas, tribes which at this period carried most of their peltries to the British. Longueuil saw more than sixty of these canoes, making the Oswego portage. It looked to him as though the English were bent on pushing into the upper country and utterly destroying the French trade, "or to come in superior number to Niagara to make an establishment there, and to prevent that which we plan to do." Longueuil took his hundred soldiers to Niagara in the summer of 1726, not more to employ them as laborers on the stone house, than to patrol the lake and to stop the English canoes which were fully expected to swarm down upon them. The English did not come, but the hundred soldiers were maintained there, apparently, a year or more. Their return to Quebec is noted under date of Sept. 25, 1727.

The French did what they could to check the growing English trade. Voyageurs passing through Lake Ontario were commanded to follow the north shore, from Frontenac to Niagara. If found near Oswego, they were liable to seizure and confiscation. In 1729, this order was renewed, emanating from the King himself, and the commandant at Fort Frontenac was cautioned to enforce it. It was proposed that two canoes, carrying trustworthy men, should cruise on the lake and intercept any traders headed for Oswego. In the spring of 1736, Beauvais, commandant at Fort Frontenac, learned that two traders, Duplessis and Deniau, were making for Oswego. Alphonse de Tonty was sent after them. He overtook them four leagues from the mouth of the Oswego River, confiscated the 300 pounds of beaver in their canoe, and carried them back to Frontenac, whence they were sent to Montreal and imprisoned. After a trial and fine of 500 livres each, which they were too poor to pay, they were further imprisoned for three months. The

hope was expressed in the dispatches that this example would "always restrain those who might be inclined to drive a fraudulent trade."

At Niagara, Capt. de Rigauville, whose command of that garrison extended over several troubled years, exerted himself constantly to keep traders from passing along the south shore of the lake. His faithful services at Niagara won for him special recognition in the despatches. In 1733 promotion was asked for him; but we find him, some years later, still in the same rank and at the same post.

France and England being nominally at peace, the Canadian officials were wary when it came to actual conflict with their adversaries in trade; they showed a wholesome respect for the English ability and willingness to come to blows; but armed strife would have availed them nothing in the circumstances. The main thing was to draw the Indians. To this end, the Government was urged, time after time, in the annual and special reports of the Governor and Intendant, to provide ample store of goods for Fort Niagara. In 1728, the Minister is specially begged to send goods in great abundance to the new house at Niagara, that the Indians may be kept from going to the English. Year after year this request is repeated in the dispatches. Occasionally the Indians found fault with the quality of the *écarlatines*⁵¹ supplied by the French, or with the price in barter; but the one thing that killed the fur trade at Fort Niagara was the restriction put on the sale of brandy. A report of 1735 says, of the trade at Niagara and Frontenac, that it becomes yearly less and less, in proportion to the expenses incurred for it by the Crown. "These two posts, which some years before had produced 52,000 li. of peltries, for the past four years yielded only 25,000 to 35,000 li." All this loss was charged to the cessation of the brandy supply. The priests were reported to have refused to confess any one engaged in trading brandy to the Indians, and the storekeepers at Niagara and Frontenac were so disturbed by the decree of the bishop, forbidding the traffic, that they preferred to

51. *Ecarlatines*, i. e., scarlatines, as some of the old records have it; probably coarse woolen stuff. Cf. *écarlates*, an old word for hose or legging.

relinquish their posts rather than fall under the ban of the church as a *cas réservé*.⁵² Beauharnois, mournfully reviewing the situation, admitted that it was difficult to let the savages have brandy and keep them from getting drunk, "but it is equally certain that nothing so keeps them from trading with the French as the refusal to let them have liquor, for which they have an inexpressible passion." Two years later we read that the trade at Niagara and Frontenac is no better. "The suppression of the brandy trade, added to the bad quality of *écarlatines* and low price of beaver, disgust the Indians who come there to trade—they pass on to Oswego." And still later, in 1740, the Sieur Boucherville, then recently in command of the garrison at Niagara, gave several reasons to the Intendant, Hocquart, to show why trade was so bad at that post. First, he said, for several years past the brandy trade had been forbidden at Niagara; and every year there came down from the upper country many canoes loaded with beaver and deer skins, but if on reaching Niagara the Indians could not get brandy they would not part with their peltries, but continued on to Oswego. Besides that, Indian traders in the pay of the English constantly intercepted the hunters as they came from the west and north, securing their peltries and effectively blocking the opportunities for trade with the French at Niagara.

The Intendant consulted with the Minister at Versailles as to what might be done; but that dignitary was able to suggest nothing more effective than to send messages to the chiefs of the Mohawks, the Oneidas, and the Onondagas, who were the intermediary agents of the English, that they must cease favoring the English trade, or their canoes would be stopped and pillaged. M. de Beaucourt was sent to a council at Onondaga, charged with this delicate mission. The assembled chiefs listened, apparently in complacent humor, and sent him away with the equivocal assurance that they would spread his words among the villages.

52. *Cas réservé*, a grave offense, decision in which is reserved for the bishop or other superior officer of the Church.

In 1740 the Sieur Michael (sometimes written "St. Michael") succeeded Boucherville as commandant at Fort Niagara, being sent there because of his supposed ability to build up trade; but in official circles at Quebec, as no doubt generally in the gossip of the day, the opinion prevailed that if the fur trade at Fort Niagara was to flourish the amount of the annual lease should be reapportioned with regard to the traffic; and be accompanied by a freer dispensation of brandy.

The fur trade at the posts was carried on in two ways; either by lease (*bail*), the Intendant giving lease-hold to the highest and best bidder for the trade of a post, and the rent giving the exclusive rights to the lessee throughout the extent of his post; or by permits (*cong  *), the Governor granting permissions to trade in certain forts. These permits were granted in great numbers to persons whom the Governor judged proper. Those who received permits paid a certain sum (*redevance*) yearly. The proceeds, whether by lease or by *cong  *, were received by the Governor, who distributed them in pensions or perquisites to certain officers, in gifts and alms to widows and children of officers, or other expenses of this sort. If at the end of the year, there remained any funds accruing from this source, they were turned into the general treasury.⁵³

The posts of Frontenac, Niagara and Toronto at first were leased, but after a trial of that system, they were reserved for the King's trade, because of the keen rivalry of the English in these quarters. The lessees of these posts having put on their goods prices which seemed too high to the Indians, the English sent wampum belts among the tribes, with intelligence of the goods and liquor which they had at Oswego, and which they offered at lower prices than the French. As a consequence, the Indians would not stop to trade at Niagara. To checkmate this move, it was necessary to cancel the lease at Niagara, and at the other trading-posts on Lake Ontario; and by successive reductions in the price of goods, to regain the Indian trade. Niagara was

53. "M  moire pour M. Francois Bigot . . .," Paris, 1763, p. 21.

more convenient for the Indians than Oswego, being nearer to their hunting grounds. The reduction of prices at Niagara, however, was carried so far that goods were sold there on royal account at less than they had cost the King. For some years, there seemed no middle course. The French saw that they must submit to this loss at Niagara, or renounce the Indian trade and abandon the whole region to the English. After all, this diminution in the price of merchandise was less a real loss than a diminished profit, because the furs which the King received in trade were sold at Quebec, bringing as much as and sometimes more than the price paid by the King for goods traded to the Indians.⁵⁴

So unsatisfactory was the state of trade, in the years following the erection of the stone house, that it was proposed once more to change the system of trade there. D'Aigremont wrote to the Minister, Oct. 15, 1728: "I believe it will be advantageous to lease the posts of Niagara and Frontenac, for there is now much loss in the trade made on the King's account, and it will always be so."

In 1727 we find Beauharnois complaining of Dupuy's management of the trading-posts. "He has farmed out for 400 francs the post at Toronto to a young man who is not at all fit. M. d'Aigremont, to whom M. Dupuy sent the agreement for signature, refused to sign, saying that he would talk about it with the Intendant, showing him that this would work great wrong to the trade at Frontenac and Niagara." Notwithstanding all that, Dupuy returned the agreement next day, but he refused to sign, alleging that he knew of another man who for some years past had offered a thousand crowns⁵⁵ for the lease. The statement, which M. de Longueuil confirmed, illustrates the favoritism and "graft" for which the administration of the colony was soon to become notorious.

Although the building of the stone house at Niagara did somewhat stimulate the traffic at that point, it by no

54. Bigot to the Minister, Sept. 30, 1750.

55. "*Mille escus*." The value of the *écu* is usually given at 2s. 6d. English.

means removed all difficulties. The King's account suffered much at the hands of incompetent, careless or dishonest agents. In the year 1728 Saveur Germain Le Clerc, who was in charge of the trading at Niagara in 1727, died after a long illness, during which his accounts were so neglected that M. d'Aigremont, reporting on the trade of the posts for that year, was unable to find out what goods or stores had been traded or used at Niagara; and he despaired of being able to tell any better the following year, "M. Dupuy having sent to Niagara to replace the Sieur Le Clerc, a man who is scarcely able to read and sign his name, notwithstanding representations which I have made regarding it. This man is Rouville la Saussaye, to whom was leased last year the post at Toronto for one year for 400 livres. He still has that lease, which is not compatible with his employment as clerk ("*commis*") and storekeeper ("*garde-magazin*") of Niagara. This lease-hold which is at the foot of Lake Ontario and which has been exploited in the King's interest in past years as a dependency of Fort Niagara, ought not to be leased to the storekeeper in charge of trade at Niagara, because of the abuses which may spring from it—this man may send off to the Toronto post the Indians who come to Niagara, under pretext that he has not in the storehouse there the things they ask for. Furthermore he might make exchanges of good peltries for bad ones, and besides could intercept all the Indians in Lake Ontario, and so utterly ruin the trade at Forts Niagara and Frontenac."

The representations of M. d'Aigremont were not without effect, for Rouville la Saussaye was soon succeeded by one La Force, who held the post for some years, though evidently not greatly to the King's profit. He carried on the barter with the Indians at Niagara, apparently in a loose way, with little or no balancing of books or auditing of accounts, from 1729 till 1738, when the Intendant, Hocquart, suspecting that all was not right, sent the Sieur Cheuremont to Niagara to investigate. The result was that La Force was found to be a debtor to the King's account in the

amount of 127,842 *chats*. The *chat* or cat of the French fur-traders was probably the raccoon,⁵⁶ and the meaning of La Force's singular indebtedness is best given in the words of M. Hocquart: "According to the traders' method of keeping accounts, the cats are regarded at Niagara as [the unit of] money by means of which they estimate the price of goods and of peltries. For instance, a blanket will sell for eight cats, a pound of beaver-skin for two; similarly with other articles of merchandise and furs." The Sieur Cheuremont informed Hocquart that he had reckoned on La Force's account all the provisions, stores and goods for trade which had been shipped to him, with allowance for all that he had used, and accepting his own figures as to goods sold. The Intendant summoned the involved commissary to Quebec, but when he demanded an explanation of the deficit, La Force could only say that Cheuremont had made such calculations as he chose; as for himself, he had traded according to the established tariff. This tariff, he said, did not take into account the goods which were ruined, and he adduced yet other reasons for his great shortage. La Force had long had the reputation of a man of probity; there was nothing on which to base a charge against him of theft. The Intendant therefore reached the conclusion that there had been nothing worse than great negligence in La Force's conduct of affairs, "and that his numerous family of eight or nine children had considerably increased the expenditures." Cheuremont toiled for three months in a vain effort to straighten the Niagara accounts; meanwhile La Force was asking to be paid 1000 livres which he claimed due him each year, but which were withheld from him.

The Intendant finally in 1739 replaced La Force with the Sieur Le Pailleur, whom he describes as "the most honest

56. *Chat* and *chat sauvage* are terms which are very often encountered in the old reports, and would naturally be taken to mean wild-cat—either the *Lynx rufus* or the Canadian lynx, *Lynx Canadensis*. A careful study of the subject by J. G. Henderson, in a paper read before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1880, reaches the conclusion that the *chat* of the early traders was really the *raton* of France, or in English, the raccoon. The fisher (*Mustela canadensis*), also often called wild-cat, is believed to be the *pecan* or *pekan* of the French-Canadian traders.

man I can find for this employ." And again there were obstacles to a business-like administration of the post. Le Pailleur had scarcely taken up the duties at Niagara when he had an adventure with a mad bull, being dragged over two arpents of road, and thus put *hors d'état* for work, so that for the year 1739 he was unable to keep up his trading accounts or even to make an inventory of merchandise in the storehouse.

There are preserved many reports regarding skins received at the Lake Ontario posts in these years. Niagara, Frontenac and Toronto are often summed up in one schedule. These lists, enumerating the number of each sort of fur received, with the price allowed, are not without interest, for they illustrate not only the state of the market, but the relative abundance of different animals taken by the Indians. Some of the old French names of species are difficult to identify. In the following schedule of furs received at Niagara and Frontenac, season of 1727, "*chat*" has been rendered as raccoon, "*vison*" as mink, "*pecan*" as fisher (*Mustela canadensis*), and "*loup-cervier*" as wolverene (*Gulo luscus*).

KIND.	NUMBER.	VALUATION PER SKIN.
Castor..... beaver	2580	7 li. 6s.
Chevreuil..... buck	295	
Chevreuils verts....buck (green).....	1875	
Boeufs Illinois.... bison	4	
Cerfs..... red deer.....	844	
Orignaux..... moose	7	
Chats..... raccoon	448	28s.
Loutres..... otter	167	3 li. 5s.
Loups-cerviers....wolverene	8	7 li.
Loups-de-bois.... wolf	4	3s.
Martres.....marten	247	3 li. 9s.
Grands ours.....bear	378	3 li. 12s.
Oursons.....cub	52	60@38s.
Ours moyens.....bear, half-grown...	8	
Pecans.....fisher	84	4 li. 9s.
Pichoux.....polecat	104	55s.
Reynards rouge....red fox.....	6	55s.
Visons.....mink	5	10s.
Rat musqués.....muskrat	8	1s. 6d.

The above is one of many lists and schedules to be found in the reports of the trading-posts. Niagara and Frontenac are invariably coupled, and no separate mention is made of Toronto, which for trade purposes was regarded as a part of Niagara. Toronto was at first treated as a separate leasehold. Later, it was made virtually a branch of Niagara. In 1729 we find the storekeeper at Niagara directed to send goods to Toronto as needed, the accounts to be included with those of his own post.

While the beaver market continued good, and the animals themselves abundant, many other fur-bearing animals whose skins are now highly prized, appear to have been neglected by the trappers. The beaver was the great staple and object of trade, although at times the market so fell off that there was little if any profit in the business as carried on by the French. Of all our fur-bearing animals the beaver was the most widely distributed. Wherever the conditions of lake or pond, marsh or forest supplied him with the means for his natural habitat, there he was to be found. But the records, even at the very beginning of the French occupancy on the Niagara, indicate that at that time the beaver-hunting grounds were some distance west and north of the old Iroquois stronghold of Central and Western New York. In Joncaire's day the main supplies for the trade at Niagara appear to have been brought by Indians from the territory north of Lake Erie, the country around Lake Huron, and the remoter regions of the Lake Superior section. In 1739 we find Beauharnois making strenuous efforts to increase the beaver trade by establishing posts among the Sioux. In that year, as at some earlier periods, war between tribes had interfered with the hunting; while other tribes, which gleaned some of the best beaver grounds, the Ottawas and Saulteux of Lake Huron, persistently refused to stay their loaded canoes at Fort Niagara, drawn to the English "by the brandy distributed without measure, and cheap goods."

The attention paid to the beaver trade in the official correspondence of Canada, even in its relation to the lower lake posts during the years we are considering, would fill an ample volume. The larger aspects of that trade cannot

be considered, here, the present aim being only to remind the reader that the quest of the beaver, more than anything else, brought Fort Niagara into existence.

There were amusing difficulties, in those days, on the part of the storekeeper at Niagara, and his brother traders elsewhere, in trying to make the Indians understand the basis of exchange. They could never be made to recognize the distinction between the skins of the full-grown and half-grown animals. One exasperated report compares the confusion growing out of this classification, to the selling of an old *robe de chambre*, of which the sleeves and bottom of the gown are sold at one price, and the back and facings at another, "according as the parts of this robe were near the body." At a meeting of agents and merchants at Château St. Louis in Quebec in 1728, it was agreed that, beginning Jan. 1, 1730, full-grown and half-grown beavers should be taken on a valuation of 3 li. 10 s. per pound, and "*castor veulle*" (? old beaver) at 48 s. per pound; a reduction from rates then prevailing. At this meeting was again heard the inevitable complaint that any effort to make the Indians recognize distinctions in beaver pelts made them carry their furs to Oswego.

The famine of 1733 contributed to the diminution in the receipt for beaver, and by a fire in April of that year at Montreal, more than 2000 pounds were burned.

The combined trade at Forts Niagara, Frontenac, and the head of the lake during the season of 1724-25 showed a profit of 2382 livres, 3 sols, 9 deniers—about \$476 on the present basis of values. A report of 1725 says: "Two hundred and four 'green' deer-skins and twenty-three packets made up of various furs are left at Fort Frontenac or Niagara, which is a mere trifle, and shows how the English have taken nearly all the trade away from Niagara. They even come to trade within ten leagues of Frontenac. Moreover the price of furs has so fallen that bear-skins have been sold this year for 47s. apiece." It is difficult to fix the purchasing power of the sol (sou) at that day, but at its nominal value of a half-penny (English), it puts the price of a bearskin in 1725 at less than half a dollar.

The falling off in trade in 1725, over 1724, is striking. Furs from the three posts above designated realized, in 1724, 29,297 li. 10s.; in 1725, only 9,151 li. 15s. 6d. Against the total receipts of 38,449 li. 5s. 6d. in the two years, there were charged 36,067 li. 1s. 9d. for expenses, leaving the balance of profit as above given. One item of expense was the salary of 600 livres paid to the storekeeper or agent at Niagara. In these figures and many others to like purport which are contained in the records, are to be found the real reason for building the stone Fort Niagara. The effect of that enterprise was immediate. In 1726, long before the new work was finished, we read: "The house at Niagara had a good effect on the beaver trade." Yet for that year, receipts from Niagara, Frontenac and "head of the lake" were only a little over 8,000 li., with expenses of over 13,000 li. "This trade," says a note of Oct. 20, 1726, "is so poor only because the English were all the spring and part of the summer in the neighborhood of Niagara and gathered in all the best skins. There were also *coureurs de bois* from Montreal who spent the winter in trade at Fort Frontenac, who made a good deal of money there. Added to all that, the price of skins has greatly fallen."

XII. ANNALS OF THE WILDERNESS.

A not infrequent source of disturbance and annoyance at Fort Niagara was the passing of unlicensed voyageurs and traders, many of whom brought retinues of savages, their canoes fur-laden, and tauntingly defied the commandant at the river's mouth. As early as 1727 we found record of men of this class from Louisiana, coming down Lake Erie on their way to Montreal, and of Canadians passing up the Niagara on their way to the Mississippi, making off with cargoes of goods for which they had not paid. Efforts were made at Niagara to arrest this class of free-booters. One Claude Chetiveau de Roussel, who came up the Mississippi and through the Lakes without a passport, was

arrested, put on board ship at Quebec, and sent to the Rochefort prison. In 1732 peremptory orders were given to the commandant at Niagara, that the goods of all traders seeking to pass up or down the river without a permit, should be seized.

As the great stone house neared completion and life at the mouth of the Niagara passed from the bustle of construction to the routine of a small garrison, Longueuil relinquished command once more to Joncaire; but in the latter's absence, in the season of 1727, a man named Pommeroy—the documents speak of him merely as "Monsieur"—was in command at the fort. The change was scarcely made when an incident occurred which illustrates a condition no doubt arising often in those days. One Desjardin, a resident of Detroit, arrived at Niagara, "bound up" as the phrase is in modern lake traffic, with a canoe loaded with merchandise. When his pass was called for by Le Clerc, in charge of the trade at Niagara, he replied that a companion trader, Roquetaillade, who was a little ways behind with three more canoes, had the passes for all four. The next day Roquetaillade arrived with a permit for only three canoes. Desjardin, whose representations were seen to be fraudulent, had taken his goods across to the west side of the Niagara. Le Clerc deemed that the circumstances warranted him in seizing the cargo. With the younger Joncaire (Chabert junior) and other soldiers he crossed the river and confiscated the goods in the name of the King. The contents of the canoe would have stocked a country store in more modern times, and indicates the needs and whims of the far-off post of Detroit at this early day. There were goods for the Indians and goods for the French settlers and their wives: four packages of biscuit, six sacks of flour, a sack of gunflints, numerous guns, a bundle of leather, a large covered kettle and seven small kettles, 322 pounds of lead in five sacks, and other things, all of which were taken to the storehouse at Niagara. When the packages were opened there they revealed men's clothing, four pairs of children's shoes, a pair of women's slippers, boys' and men's shoes,

fifteen small hatchets, a barrel of prunes and another of salt, a white blanket and two red ones, two pieces of the woolen fabric called *calmande*, with rolls of other weaves indicated as *estamine au dauphine*, and *indienne* or cotton print. Still another package contained wax, cotton wicks for candles, French thread ("*fil de Rennes*"), cotton cloth, shoemaker's thread, and blue cotton stockings for women—perhaps the earliest indication we have of the *bas bleues* in the Lake region. The confiscation of such a cargo of frontier necessities was a serious loss to the unlucky Desjardin. His large bark canoe ("*canoe d'ecorse de huit places*") was also confiscated. Such was the penalty for failure to comply with the prescribed regulations of trade.

Perhaps worthy of note, in these minor annals of the frontier, are the names of the soldiers which with those of Le Clerc and Joncaire, Jr., are signed to the report of the seizure, under date Aug. 21, 1727. Here we meet, as it were, St. Maurice de la Gauchetière, La Jeunesse de Budmond, L'Esperance de Port Neuf, Sans Peur de Deganne, St. Antoine de Dechaillon, St. Jean de Lignery, and Bon Courage de Deganne. Surely, with Youth, Hope, Fearlessness and Good Courage for comrades in the wilderness, to say nothing of the saints, life at Fort Niagara in the grey old days could not have been wholly forlorn.

On a day in the spring of 1735 two canoes, deeply laden, came skirting the northern shore of Lake Erie to the discharge; took the good channel through the little rapids, and were speeded along at a pace of some six to eight miles an hour, past the low shores over which Buffalo now extends. In the wider reaches of the river at the head of Grand Island, where the current slackens to some two miles, the red voyageurs plied again the paddles, and soon made the ancient landing at the margin of the river above the great cataract. Here, as they stepped ashore, the party was seen to consist of eight Indians and their employer, a half-breed trader, who though well-nigh as dark-skinned as his followers, spoke the French of Quebec with fluency. There was a quick agreement with the resident Senecas, who car-

ried his packs and his canoes over the old portage path, down to the lower river, receiving for their labors one hundred beaver-skins. Reëmbarking, the little flotilla hastened out of the Niagara and on along the Ontario shore to Oswego fort, where the suspicious trader stayed on the strand with his canoes, sending the Indians into the fort to dispose of his furs. The sale accomplished, he made his way westward, once more stole his way past Fort Niagara, and after gaining again the upper river, hastened on, weary league on league, until he finally came again to his abiding-place at Missilimackinac.

This was Joseph La France. His father was a French Canadian, his mother of the nation of Sauteurs, living at the falls of St. Mary, between Lakes Superior and Huron. Here he was born about 1707. His mother died when he was five years old, and his father took him to Quebec, where he spent six months and learned French. Quebec had then, according to the subsequent testimony of La France, "4 or 5,000 men in garrison, it being about the time of the Peace of Utrecht." Returning to his people at St. Mary's, he resided there until the death of his father in 1723, when the son, then sixteen, embarked upon the career of an independent trader. He took what furs and skins his father had left him, went down to Montreal by the Ottawa-river route, disposed of his goods and returned to acquire a new stock for barter. For the next ten years or so he seems to have taken his furs regularly to the French. In 1734 he adventured in new fields, going down the Wisconsin to the Mississippi, and down that stream to the mouth of the Missouri, returning by the same route.

In 1735, stealing by night past the French settlement at Detroit, for fear of being stopped, he came down Lake Erie, on his way to try the English at Oswego. As on the Detroit, so on the Niagara, he appears to have avoided the French, whom he subsequently reported to have "a fort on the north side of the Fall of Niagara, between the Lakes Errie and Frontenac, about 3 Leagues within the Woods from the Fall, in which they keep 30 Soldiers, and have about as

many more with them as Servants and Assistants; these," he added, "have a small trade with the Indians for Meat, Ammunition and Arms."⁵⁷ Probably his dealings with the English became known to the French; for later, when he went again to Montreal with a cargo of furs, although he gave the Governor a present of marten-skins and 1000 crowns, for a license to trade the following year, the Governor would neither give the license nor restore the money, charging La France with having sold brandy to the Indians, and threatening him with imprisonment. La France escaped from Montreal, and toilsomely made his way up the Ottawa, reaching Lake Nipissing, after forty days of paddling and portaging. At Mackinac he gathered another stock of furs and set out once more to try his fortunes with the French; but on the way to Montreal, in the Nipissing [French] River, he suddenly met the Governor's brother-in-law with nine canoes and thirty soldiers. They took all he had and arrested him as a runaway without a passport; but he made his escape through the woods at night, and after weeks of hardship returned to St. Mary's, resolved to be done for ever with the French. Having lost all, he determined to go to the English at Hudson's Bay. His subsequent adventures belong to the history of the fur trade of the far north and west. His testimony, given in an enquiry regarding the operation of the Hudson's Bay Company, affords many useful glimpses of the conditions of the time.

La France was the type of a class of men who at this period were a source of great trouble alike to the French and the English. The French especially, at Frontenac, at Niagara and Detroit, were exasperated by their disregard of the *cong  *, their unlicensed brandy-selling to the Indians, and their journeys to the upstart British post at Oswego. As La France made his way past Fort Niagara, with canoes loaded to the gunwale with winter furs, the French of that

57. La France was the first man of whom we have record, to cross from Lake Winnipeg to Hudson's Bay. The account of his presence on the Niagara is found in Vol. II of the "Report from the Committee appointed to enquire into the State and Condition of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay, and of the Trade carried on there," etc., London, 1749.

little garrison, if not indeed Joncaire himself, may have noted the passing, standing impotent to prevent it, or perchance enraged by the yells and derisive cries of the defiant freebooters, no longer at pains to conceal themselves when once safely past the fort.

There developed in England at this time a considerable outcry against the monopoly enjoyed by the Hudson's Bay Company; and an ingenious advocacy of free trade in North American fur-gathering. The experiences of Joseph La France provided a fruitful text for those who, like the author of "An Account of the Countries Adjoining to Hudson's Bay," etc., undertook to show their countrymen and their king how British trade might be extended in the Lake Erie region, and the French at the Lake Erie and Niagara posts utterly routed. Arthur Dobbs, who combined with the natural British hostility to the French, a bitterly critical attitude towards the Hudson's Bay Company, set forth at length in his book views which no doubt met the approval of many of the British public of his day. Curiously enough, one of his strongest arguments was based on a map-maker's blunder. On the large map which accompanies his work, the Great Lakes are shown, with "the great fall of Niagara" properly indicated at the outlet of "Conti or Errie Lake." The whole region of the Lakes is shown, as accurately on the whole as on many another map, up to that time; but running into Lake Erie, a few miles south of the present site of Buffalo, the unknown geographer has added a stream of considerable size, and named it "Conde River." Its real prototype, in the annals of earlier explorers, may have been the Cattaraugus or Eighteen-Mile Creek; but here we have it, shown unduly large, as the only stream entering Lake Erie, its head-waters coming from vague mountains to the southeast.

Contemplating this stream, and the exigencies of the fur trade in the region, Mr. Dobbs saw a great opportunity for the British, "by forming a Settlement on the River Conde, which is navigable into the Lake Errie, which is within a small Distance of our Colonies of Pennsylvania and Mary-

land, and being above the great Fall of Niagara, and in the Neighborhood of the Iroquese, who are at present a Barrier against the French, and a sufficient Protection to our Fort and trading House at Oswega, in their Country upon the Lake Frontenac, who by that Trade have secured the Friendship of all the Nations around the Lakes of Huron and Errie. We should from thence, in a little Time, secure the Navigation of these great and fine Lakes, and passing to the southward, at the same time, from Hudson's Bay to the Upper Lake, and Lake of Hurons, we should cut off the Communication betwixt their Colonies of Canada and Mississippi, and secure the Inland Trade of all that vast Continent." Further on we have more details of the geography, real and imagined, of our region: "The Streight above Niagara at the Lake is about a League wide. From this to the River Conde is 20 Leagues South-west; this River runs from the S. E. and is navigable for 60 Leagues without any Cataracts or Falls; and the Natives say, that from it to a River which falls into the Ocean, is a Land Carriage of only one League. This must be either the Susquehanna or Powtomack, which fall into the Bay of Chisapeak." He further argues the wisdom of making a settlement on this wonderful river Conde, of building proper vessels there to navigate these lakes, so that "we might gain the whole Navigation and Inland Trade of Furs, etc., from the French, the Fall of Niagara being a sufficient Barrier betwixt us and the French of Canada," etc. It was alleged that the British Government might readily induce colonists from Switzerland and Germany "to strengthen our settlements upon this River and Lake Erie." Another suggestion was that disbanded British troops be sent on half pay to Lake Erie, where they would "make good our possessions, which would be a fine retreat to our Soldiers, who can't so easily, after being disbanded, bring themselves again to hard Labour, after being so long disused to it." The more Mr. Dobbs dwelt upon it the more important this particular project appeared. The French were to be cut off from communication with the Mississippi; Canada was to be "made

insignificant for the French." The entire free trade of North America was to fall into the hands of the English. And finally, with a burst of sentiment which recalls the devout aspirations of the French missionaries, but is an anomaly in the plans of British traders, he exclaims: "How glorious would it be for us at the same time to civilize so many Nations, and improve so large and spacious a country! by communicating our Constitution and Liberties, both civil and religious, to such immense Numbers, whose Happiness and Pleasure would increase, at the same Time that an Increase of Wealth and Power would be added to Britain."⁵⁸

Life at Fort Niagara never ceased to be dependant on the King's provision ships. If the annual shipment came early in the season, the garrison abated its chronic discontent in reasonable assurance that it could endure until spring on the inevitable flour and pork. But often the ships reached Quebec so late that the annual cargo of food and other necessities could not be sent through to Niagara until the following spring. In 1732 the *Ruby*, bringing subsistence for the forest garrisons, reached Quebec late in September. The utmost dispatch was made, but the supplies designed for Niagara got no further that fall than Frontenac. The winter of 1732-33 was a most severe one, the meager harvests of the colony had been even smaller than usual, and there were privation and distress in the towns as well as at the lake posts. At Niagara they felt the additional burden of the smallpox, which this winter ran through the Iroquois villages, interfering with the usual hunting and trapping. In the summer of 1733, stimulated by the urgent tone of the official reports, the King's ship anchored off Quebec on July 9th. Even with this early arrival, it was September before the barrels of flour which she brought were safe in the storehouse at Niagara. In 1734, the *Ruby* arrived, August 16th; but in 1735 there was another failure to receive anything; the Niagara provisions indeed reached

⁵⁸. See "An Account of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay," etc., by Arthur Dobbs, London, 1744.

Frontenac, and were loaded on a batteau; but when the lumbering, laden craft essayed the autumnal lake, a gale drove her ashore and the trip was abandoned—with what result at the waiting garrison, may be imagined. There, short rations and bad more than once bore fruit in mutiny and desertion. Again the Government sought to atone for the costly delays of one season, with excess of zeal in the next; so that in 1736 the King's ship was at Quebec on August 7th, and in the next summer the Jason arrived August 8th. And so it went, with varying uncertainty, the efficiency and well nigh the existence of Niagara depending largely on the modicum of attention it might receive from the Minister and his agents in France.

Although the two barques which had been constructed at Frontenac in the winter of 1725 were only eight years old in 1733, one of them had then become unfit for service, so that there remained but one sailing vessel on Lake Ontario that season. The Intendant, Hocquart, sent four ship-carpenters to Frontenac to repair the other, but they found it so far gone that the best they could do was to take the iron-work from it and build a new vessel. This they did, at an expense of some 5,000 livres. The second boat, says a report of that summer, was greatly needed to carry goods to Niagara.

At Detroit, after the first few bitter years, conditions for self-maintenance were far better than they ever were at Niagara. The latter post never had the thrifty class of settlers about it, which very early began to provide flour and other produce not only for Detroit but for Mackinac and other upper-lake posts as well.

So productive were those early grain fields about Detroit that in 1730 a memorialist of the Crown—possibly De Noyan, though this particular memorial⁵⁹ is not signed—seeking certain privileges in the western trade, unfolded a plan for supplying Niagara with flour. To further this project, the Government was asked to build one or two

59. "Mémoires concernant l'état-présent du Canada en l'an 1730," MS. copy in the Archives Office, Ottawa.

light-draught vessels ("*barques plates*") to navigate between the Niagara, Detroit and the upper lakes. The advantage of such vessels, in case of Indian troubles, was pointed out: soldiers could be quickly transported. But the opportunities of trade loomed large in the eye of this speculator. At present, he wrote, it costs the *voyageurs* twenty livres freight per packet of furs, from Detroit to Montreal. With the desired sailing vessels the furs could be carried for ten or twelve livres per packet. Detroit would gather from its tributary country annually 1,000 to 1,200 packets; Mackinac and the upper posts could be counted on for 2,000 more. The petitioner knew well the conditions of the fur trade. The *voyageurs*—canoe freighters—reached market by the Ottawa route. By the Niagara route he proposed to carry them at fifteen livres each. Thus on 1,000 packets from Mackinac he counted on 15,000 livres, and on 1,000 from Detroit, 10,000 more; and 25,000 livres freight receipts in one season should have appealed to a ministry accustomed to know only of outlay in connection with the lake posts.

True, some expense must be incurred, to start the business. This plan contemplated the construction of a palisaded warehouse above the Niagara fall, at a point where the barques could make easy and safe harbor. The portage road was to be extended and improved. There would have to be a clerk at the warehouse above the falls, and carts for carrying the peltries down to the lower river—the landing of the old Magazin Royal—where two flat-boats would be needed to convey them on down to the mouth of the river each summer in July or early in August. The desired barques, it was urged, could make at least three voyages, Niagara to Mackinac, between June and mid-August. On their first down trip they could bring away the furs collected in the neighborhood of Mackinac; on the second and third trips, they would take the packets which by that time would have been brought in from the Lake Superior and more distant posts. The author of this memoir foresaw the prejudice which he would have to overcome among the

traders; but if even half of them were afraid to risk Niagara, and chose to forward by canoe down the Ottawa route, he figured that even then the profit with the barques would be considerable. Each packet paid in freight twenty-five livres, Mackinac to Montreal, by the Niagara, where the Ontario barques would receive them. It was recommended that the Lake Erie craft be built "five or six leagues above the Niagara portage," and the promoter thought that with a master and four sailors for each vessel, business could begin, especially if soldiers from Fort Niagara and other posts could be called on for service when required.

This was probably the first project for trade by sailing vessels from the Niagara to the upper lakes, since the disastrous voyage of La Salle's Griffon, fifty years before. The Government did not lend its aid, and the plausible and elaborate memoir bore no immediate fruit.

With the growth of trade and settlement at Detroit, and, from about 1730, the increasing substitution of the Niagara route over that of the Ottawa—the *grande rivière* of the toilful old days—traffic adjusted itself to a recognized tariff; so that, in the latter days of the period we are studying, if not indeed to the very end of the French dominion on the Lakes, transportation by the Niagara route was to be counted on for its fixed charges as much as any inland transportation by boat or rail is today; but how different the items! The Detroit merchant of say 1730, returning homeward from Montreal with goods, brought them by canoes or flat-boats to Fort Frontenac, there transferred them to the little barque that took its chances with all the winds of heaven, on the long traverse to Fort Niagara, some seventy leagues, as the old sailing-masters made it. Reloaded on batteaux, the freight was poled and pulled up the Niagara, to the foot of the portage. There, in the earlier years, each packet and cask was hoisted to the shoulders of an Indian or Canadian *engagé*, for the hard climb up the levels and through the forest, some seven miles to the point of reëmbarking above the cataract. Just when horses or oxen were first used on the portage road is uncertain. We know that

the English had proposed to use them there, in 1720, and that the French did use them for a number of years. All this transportation was paid for by a percentage on the weight. The cost of outfit, too, was considerable. If the merchant owned his own canoe—a *canot de maître*, of six or eight places—it cost him at least 500 francs. For the journey, he paid his six *engagés*, who not only paddled the canoe but helped make the portage, 250 francs each. The needed food for the journey would include at least 100 pounds of biscuit and twenty-five pounds of pork or bacon, per man. These with other necessities brought the cost of equipment and maintenance to 2,260 francs. Such are the actual figures of one "voyage."

It has been noted that the winter's supplies occasionally failed to reach the Niagara garrison. Sometimes the supplies which were there were bad. There was a serious state of affairs in 1738, owing to the wretched quality of flour furnished by the Government for the subsistence of the garrison. The supply was eked out by Canadian flour, of which there was great scarcity. The commandant, to head off, if possible, the desertions to which the soldiers at Niagara were always prone, if not indeed a mutiny of the whole garrison, sent several officers as an express to Montreal. They reported that the soldiers were absolutely unable to live on their short rations of bad bread and salt meat, and begged that better supplies be sent. Some relief was gained from the Canadian harvest, and the spoiled French flour was shipped back from the lake posts to Montreal.

In the summer of 1729, life at the little garrison had been disturbed by a mutiny among the soldiers, due probably to bad food and not enough of it. Whatever the cause, it made a most crucial season for Rigauville, commandant at the time. The prime mover in the uprising was one Charles Panis, and with him in rebellion were Laignille, La Joye, one Bernard—"called Dupont,"—and so many others that the maintenance of any discipline at all was in jeopardy. The especial enmity of the mutineers was directed against the commandant and Ensign Ferrière. A Government sec-

retary, Bernard, who was at Niagara at the time auditing the accounts of the store-keeper, was sent off post-haste to Montreal with a report of the affair. Beauharnois promptly sent back Captain Gauchetière and Ensign Céloron, with a detachment of twenty trusty men to replace the rebels. The latter were taken to Montreal, where they were held under arrest, in irons. An affair followed which made more of a stir than the original mutiny. The uprising at Niagara had occurred on July 26th. It was not until after a long and dangerous delay that the offenders were brought to trial before a council of war, which in due time, pronounced sentence. Laignille and La Joye were condemned to be hanged and broken [*"pendus et rompus"*]; while Dupont, a deserter, was merely to be hanged. Early in the morning of October 18th, before the executions were to take place, one of the condemned men cried out for help for his comrade, who feigned to be sick. The jailor's daughter ran to them, but scarcely had she opened the door of their dungeon, than the three criminals, who had broken off their irons, threw themselves upon her, overcame the sentry, climbed over the palisades and ran away. The gallows and platform, which had been made ready for the executions, were surreptitiously taken down and carried off, by whom the authorities could not learn. As it was deemed necessary to make an example of someone, the jailor was removed from his post, though it was not shown that he was in any wise responsible for the escape. There is no record found that any of the seditious soldiers were punished.

The official reports became very fretful over the matter. It was complained that the priests and women had meddled with the affair, creating sympathy for the prisoners. The whole system of procedure was criticised; there had been shown a complete ignorance of the laws and ordinances. "There is scarcely an officer in the country, and especially at Montreal, who knows how to conduct a procedure of this sort." "If the officers who composed the council of war had been instructed in the ordinance of July 26, 1668, the execution of the criminals need not have been delayed more than

twenty-four hours," etc. The Governor and Intendant took the occasion to renew with great urgency their frequent request that more troops be sent to the colony.

As for "Charles Panis," the instigator of the Niagara mutiny, he was put aboard the French vessel *St. Antoine*, and sent to Martinique in banishment. The governor there was requested to hold him forever as a slave, forbidding him ever to return to Canada or to go even to the English colonies. This culprit, whose name is written in the documents as Charles Panis, may not unlikely have been Charles, a Panis or Pani, the name by which the French designated the Naudowasses or slave Indians. These people occupy a strange position in the history of North American tribes. In Joncaire's time, they are frequently found as slaves and menials not only among the Senecas and other warlike tribes, but among the French. Nor is it wholly improbable that such an Indian should have been the instigator of a mutiny among French soldiers, for more than once in the records may be found mention of Panis who served with the French troops. Several of them, in Péan's following, were killed at Fort Necessity in July, 1754. In 1747 a runaway Panis was shipped from Montreal to Martinique, there to be sold for the benefit of his owner. Facts like these, and the further fact that "Panis" is an unlikely French name, pretty clearly point out the character of the instigator of the mutiny at Fort Niagara.⁶⁰

As for Laignille and his lawless associates, they no doubt soon found their way into the ranks of *coureurs de bois* and unlicensed traffickers with the Indians, not improbably allying themselves with some remote tribe, where they forever merged their identity with that of their savage associates. The wilderness lodges were harbingers of many a white outlaw in those days.

To the period we are considering, belongs—if it belongs to history at all—the Niagara visit of the *Sieur C. Le Beau*,

60. Details of the Fort Niagara mutiny are given in a report of Beauharnois and Hocquart to the Minister, Oct. 23, 1730, and in other documents of the time.

"avocat en parlement," romancer and adventurer at large. According to his own testimony, this young man, a native of Rochelle, went to Paris in 1729, and in the same year was drawn from his legal studies into a voyage to Canada. Shipwrecked in the St. Lawrence, he arrived at Quebec, in sad plight, June 18, 1729. He found employment as a clerk in the fur business (*"bureau du castor"*), where he continued, making his home with the Recollect Fathers, for more than a year. He ran away from sober pursuits, in March, 1731, and took to the woods with two Indians. His many adventures are too numerous, and of too little consequence, to make even a summary of them worth while here. His narrative puts the time of his arrival at Niagara in June, 1731, and under sufficiently fantastic conditions. He was accompanied, with other Indians, by his mistress, an Abenaki maiden, with whom he had exchanged clothes. He had resorted to this and other disguise to avoid arrest by the French as a deserter. A long story is made of his encounter with soldiers from Fort Niagara, and of his final sanctuary in Seneca villages. He says that letters were received from Montreal, by the commandant at Fort Niagara, ordering his arrest, if he appeared in the neighborhood.

Needless to say, no mention of Le Beau is found in the official correspondence. His book has for the most part the air of truth; he is precise with his dates, and in his account of Indian customs shows much accurate knowledge. Among the things that tell against him are his allusions to a Jesuit priest, Father Cirene, among the Mohawks; but this name is not found in all the Relations of the order. His account of Niagara falls is dubious; he says they are 600 feet high. This is La Hontan's figure of many years before. Le Beau has much to say of La Hontan and his misrepresentations, but the indications are that he accepted one of that gay officer's wildest exaggerations, and that he may never have seen Niagara at all. He probably came to Canada and had some experience among the Indians; and when he wrote his book, chose to so enlarge upon what he had really seen and

experienced, still holding to a thread of fact, that the result has little interest as fiction, and no value whatever as history.⁶¹

CHAPTER XIII. JONCAIRE AMONG THE SHAWANESE—HIS DEATH AT NIAGARA.

From the time of the establishment of Fort Niagara, Chabert Joncaire the elder was more and more an object of jealousy and hatred for the English. It was not without reason that they ascribed to him the success of the French on the Niagara. Now rumors began to fly. It was reported to the French King, on the word of *Sieur de La Corne*, that an Indian had promised the English that the house at Niagara should be razed, and that the Iroquois had been bribed by the Albany people to get rid of Joncaire. Louis approved the order to send word to Joncaire himself of all this, and instructed him to learn the truth of these reports, and to prevent the accomplishment of English designs. As the English at this time were making lavish presents to the Indians, Joncaire's task was no light one. They even sent wampum peace belts to remote tribes—to the Indians of Sault St. Louis, the Lake of the Two Mountains, to the Algonkins and Nepissings, inviting them all to remain quiet while the Iroquois were tearing down Fort Niagara. When the English overtures took any other form than substantial gifts, the Indians tired of them. As we have seen, to the English demand that the Iroquois should allow them to build a fort on the west side of the Niagara, opposite the French establishment, the savages replied that they did not wish to be troubled further about it; that they did not regret having given their consent to the French; and if the Eng-

61. See the "*Avantures du Sr. C. Le Beau, avocat en parlement, ou Voyage curieux et nouveau, parmi les Sauvages de l'Amerique Septentrionale*," etc., Amsterdam, 1738. So far as I am aware, this curious book has never been published in English. While the cause of history would scarcely be promoted by such a publication, yet it is singular in these days of reprinting anything that is old and curious, that no publisher has given us a new edition—"with notes"—of *Le Beau*.

lish wished to build on the Niagara, they must settle it with "Onontio"; as for them, they would not interfere;⁶² which, after all, was not bad diplomacy on the part of the savage.

For the next few years Joncaire's chief employment was to inform his superior officers of English intrigues among the Iroquois, and to thwart them by his experience and influence. He was among the Senecas on such a mission in 1730, the *Sieur de Rigauville* being then in command at Fort Niagara.

It was at this time (1730) that he appears to have essayed to repeat, at Irondequoit bay, his achievements on the Niagara, but without a like success. I find no record of the enterprise in the French documents; the English report of it puts Joncaire in a ridiculous rôle. It was Lawrence Claessen who carried the news to Albany in the autumn of this year, that Joncaire with a following of French soldiers, had gone among the Senecas and told them "that he having disobliged his governor was Duck'd whip'd and banished as a malefactor, and said, that as he had been a prisoner among that Nation, and that then his life was in their hands, and as they then saved his life, he therefore deemed himself to be a coherent brother to that Nation, and therefore prayed that they might grant him toleration to build a trading house at a place called Tiederontequatt, at the side of the Kadarachqua lake about ten Leagues from the Sinnekes Country, and is about middle way Oswego and Yagero [Niagara] . . . and that he the said Jean Ceure entreated and beg'd the Sinnekes that they would grant him liberty to build the aforesaid Trading house at that place, in order that he might get his livelyhood by trading there and that he might keep some Soldiers to work for him there whom he promised should not molest or use any hostility to his Brethren the Sinnekes," etc., etc. He was further said to be an emissary of the Foxes.

Some correspondence ensued, on this extraordinary report by Claessen. The commissioners for Indian affairs at Albany made it the subject of a long letter to representa-

62. Marquis de Beauharnois to the Minister, Sept. 25, 1726.

tives of English interests among the Senecas, but even they saw the absurdity of Joncaire having a following of French soldiers if he had been banished from Canada. The part assigned to him in this affair by the Dutch interpreter is at utter variance with what we know of Joncaire's character and employment at this time.

The more one studies the old records, with the purpose of gaining therefrom a true conception of Joncaire's character—of discovering just what manner of man he was, and what is his true position among the men who made the history of his times, the less does he appear as a half-wild sojourner among the savages, the more is he seen to be a man of character, of marked ability to control others, and of some social standing and culture, as those qualities went at the time. His own letters, written in a day when many, even men of affairs, knew not how to hold a pen, testify to the excellent quality of his mind. He had the reputation among his brother officers of being a braggart; but even those who charged him with it, admitted that his achievements, especially in handling the Senecas, gave good warrant for boasting.

For forty years his relations with the missionaries, especially of the order of Jesuits, were intimate. His association in his early years with Fathers Milet, Bruyas and Vaillant has been noted in the narrative. For Charlevoix he became host on the banks of the Niagara, and no doubt gave the priest many useful suggestions for his famous journey up the Lakes in 1721. It was Joncaire who told Charlevoix of the famous oil spring at Ganos,⁶³ now near Cuba, N. Y. "The place where we meet with it," wrote Charlevoix, "is called Ganos; where an officer worthy of credit [Joncaire] assured me that he had seen a fountain, the water of which is like oil and has the taste of iron. He said also that a little further there is another fountain exactly like it, and that the savages make use of its waters to appease all manner of

63. *Ganos* is derived from *Genie* or *Gaienna*, which in the Iroquois signifies oil or liquid grease (Bruyas). This oil spring is in the town of Cuba, Allegany Co., N. Y. The other referred to is in Venango Co., Pa.

pains." Joncaire may have been the first white man to visit these or other oil springs in the region, and so, possibly, to become the discoverer of petroleum. But others had heard of them, whether they visited them or not, long before Joncaire's day. The "Relation" of the Jesuits for 1656-57, edited by LeJeune, says, in its description of the Iroquois country: "As one approaches nearer to the country of the Cats [i. e., the Eries], one finds heavy and thick water, which ignites like brandy, and boils up in bubbles of flame when fire is applied to it. It is moreover so oily that all our savages use it to anoint and grease their heads and their bodies." Father Chaumonot was among the Senecas in 1656, as were, at various times, Fathers Fremin, Menart and Vaillant. These or still other missionaries may have been led to the oil springs more than half a century before Joncaire; to whom none the less belongs some credit for making them known.

One of the few students of our history who have discovered in Joncaire anything more than a rough soldier and interpreter, erroneously calls him a "chevalier," and pictures him as especially zealous in behalf of the Roman Catholic religion. "To extend the dominion of France," says William Dunlap, "and of the Roman religion, this accomplished French gentleman bade adieu to civilized life, and by long residence among the Senecas, adopting their mode of life, and gaining their confidence, he procured himself to be adopted into the tribe, and to be considered as a leader in their councils. His influence with the Onondagas was about as great as with his own tribe. By introducing and supporting the priests, and other missionaries, employed by the Jesuits and instructed by the Governor; by sending intelligence to Montreal or Quebec, by these spies; by appearing at all treaty councils, and exerting his natural and acquired eloquence—it is necessary to say, he was master of their language—he incessantly thwarted in a great measure the wishes of the English, and particularly set himself in opposition to the Government of New York. But the views of

Burnet, in regard to the direct trade, backed by the presents displayed to the savages, met their approbation in despite of Joncaire and the Jesuits." Dunlap adds that the conduct of Joncaire is only paralleled by that of the Jesuit Ralle [Rasle]. "It is not improbable," he continues, "that Joncaire as well as Ralle, was of the Society of Jesuits, for it is the policy of this insidious combination that its members shall appear as laymen, in many instances, rather than as ecclesiastics."⁶⁴

Obviously hostile, with the old-time prejudice of his kind, to the work of the Catholic missionaries, Dunlap nevertheless does a certain justice to Joncaire, in bringing out this phase of his activities. There is no warrant found in the documents for the supposition that Joncaire was a member of the Society of Jesus; many things indicate that he was not. Nor was he, probably, above the average standard of morality among the French soldiers of his day—a type, as we well know, not conspicuous either for piety or purity. But it remains true that Joncaire's services among the Senecas were calculated to help on the efforts of the missionaries, who found him an invaluable ally against the ungodly English.

There exists, of date 1725, a memoir "by a member of the Congregation of St. Lazare," in which various measures are urged to prevent the English from working injury to the colony of Canada and the cause of true religion among the Indians. The author suggests that the Recollects (who were Franciscans), should be allowed to remain at any posts where they then were, in capacity of missionaries or chaplains; and that in these capacities they be sent to posts which should thereafter be established, where regular parochial organization could not be effected; but that the Jesuits, who preferred to be missionaries among the Indians rather than chaplains at the French posts, might nevertheless be established at Niagara, "in order that from this post they

64. "History of the New Netherlands," etc., by William Dunlap (N. Y., 1839), Vol. I, pp. 286, 287.

may carry on their mission among the Iroquois. It is highly important to the Colony to establish and to maintain these missions in the interests of France. To the end that the Jesuits may find means to hold the Iroquois nations it is desirable to give to them a tract of land near Niagara where they may build a house and make an establishment."

This plea for a Jesuit establishment at Niagara, which, plausibly, was made with the knowledge and endorsal of Joncaire, was not granted; but when the new post was garrisoned, it is probable that the first priest who as chaplain accompanied troops thither, was a Jesuit. The traditions of the post already associated it with that order. At least three Jesuits had been at the short-lived Fort Denonville on the same spot—Fathers Enjalran, Lamberville and Milet. No priest is mentioned among the soldiers who brought new life and stir to the old plateau in 1726. The first clergyman of whom we find record at Fort Niagara was Father Emmanuel Crespel, also a Jesuit. He was stationed there for about three years from 1729, interrupting his ministrations there with a short sojourn at Detroit where a mission of his order had been established.

Of Fort Niagara at this time he says: "I found the place very agreeable; hunting and fishing were very productive; the woods in their greatest beauty, and full of walnut and chestnut trees, oaks, elms and some others, far superior to any we see in France. The fever," he continues, "soon destroyed the pleasures we began to find, and much incommoded us, until the beginning of autumn, which season dispelled the unwholesome air. We passed the winter very quietly, and would have passed it very agreeably, if the vessel which was to have brought us refreshments had not encountered a storm on the lake, and been obliged to put back to Frontenac, which laid us under the necessity of drinking nothing but water. As the winter advanced she dared not proceed, and we did not receive our stores until May." Father Crespel records that while at Niagara he learned the Iroquois—probably the Seneca—and Ottawa languages well

enough to converse with the Indians. "This enabled me," he writes, "to enjoy their company when I took a walk in the environs of the post."⁶⁵ The ability to talk with Indians afterward saved his life. When his three years of residence at Niagara expired, he was relieved, according to the custom of his order, and he passed a season in the convent at Quebec. While he was, no doubt, succeeded at Niagara by another chaplain, it is not until some years later that we find in the archives any mention of a priest at that post.

In 1731 Joncaire entered upon a new service, which, apparently, was to be his chief employment for the few remaining years of his life. He was now past sixty years. Grown gray in the King's service, seasoned by a lifetime of exposure and arduous wilderness experience, wise in the ways of the Indian, and understanding the intrigues and ambitions of the English, he was preëminently a man to be entrusted with an important mission. It is not to be inferred, however, that his lifetime of service on the outposts had cut him off from the official, the military or the domestic associations of Quebec and Montreal. The latter town, then of not above 5,000 inhabitants, was his home; and there, from 1707 to 1723, Madame de Joncaire bore to him, as we have already noted, ten children, the eldest of whom, Philippe Thomas, and his younger brother Daniel, known respectively as Chabert the younger and Clausonne, are both to bear a part in the history of the Niagara. In 1731, Chabert, Jr., then about twenty-four years old, accompanied his father to the Senecas' villages, and probably to Niagara. He had even then "resided a long time among those Indians" and was "thoroughly conversant with their language." But now he was to be intrusted with new responsibilities; he was to assume the rôle which his father had filled for so many

65. "Voyages du R. P. Emmanuel Crespel, dans le Canada et son naufrage en revenant en France. Mis au jour par le Sr. Louis Crespel, son Frère. A Francfort sur le Meyn, 1742." There are numerous editions: 1st German, Frankfort and Leipsig, 1751; 2d French, Frankfort, 1752; Amsterdam, 1757; an English edition, 1797, etc., with numerous variations in title. The rare first edition was reprinted at Quebec in 1884.

years among these vacillating and uncertain people. Reporting on these arrangements to the French Minister, de Maurepas, in October, 1731, Beauharnois wrote: "There is reason to believe that Sieur de Joncaire's presence among the Iroquois has been a check on them as regards the English, and that by keeping a person of some influence constantly among them, we shall succeed in entirely breaking up the secret intrigues they have together. On the other hand, the Iroquois will be more circumspect in their proceedings, and less liable to fall into the snares of the English, when they have some one convenient to consult with, and in whom they will have confidence. Sieur de Joncaire's son is well adapted for that mission."

The story of this son, and his share in Niagara history, belong for the most part to a later period than we are now considering. It may be noted here, however, that it was Chabert the younger who, in the winter of 1734, came from Montreal to Fort Niagara on snowshoes, bringing letters from the Governor. He returned through the heart of New York State, visiting the Iroquois villages *en route*. He was then in his twenty-seventh year; active, hardy, speaking the Seneca and probably other dialects of the Iroquois as well as his native French, "wise and full of ardor for the service." Later in this year he was serving in the company commanded by Desnoyelles, and from this time on his career becomes more and more a part of Niagara history.

It is plain that no credence was given by Beauharnois to the reports reflecting on the integrity of the elder Joncaire's character. That he was thoroughly loyal to the French might also be inferred from the responsibility of his new mission. He was entrusted with the removal to a new place of residence of the Chaouanons.

These people are better known as the Shawanese. To enter fully into their history here would be to travel afar from our especial theme. It will suffice to state that they were of southern origin. About 1698, three or four score families of them, with the consent of the Governor of Penn-

sylvania, removed from Carolina and established themselves on the Susquehanna, at Conestoga. Others followed, so that by 1732, when the number of Indian fighting men in Pennsylvania was estimated at about 700, one half of them were Shawanese immigrants. About the year 1724 the Delaware Indians, in quest of better hunting-grounds, removed from their old seats on the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers, to the lower Allegheny, upper Ohio and its branches, and from 1728 the Shawanese gradually followed them.

The friendship of these Ohio Delawares and Shawanese became an object of rivalry for the British and French; the interests of the latter among them were now confided to Joncaire. The vanguard of the Shawanese migrants appears to have gained the upper Ohio as early as 1724, for in that year we find that Vaudreuil had taken measures to weld them to the French. An interpreter, Cavalier, had been sent among them, and had even induced four of their chiefs to go with him to Montreal, where they received the customary assurances of French friendship. At this date, the Ohio Shawanese numbered over 700, but their attachment to the English appears to have been even greater than to the French. They evidently paid some respect to the authority of the French in the Ohio valley, for on this Montreal visit they asked if the French Governor "would receive them, and where he would wish to locate them." Beauharnois replied that he would "leave them entirely at liberty to select, themselves, a country where they might live conveniently and within the sound of their Father's voice"—i. e., within French influence; "that they might report, the next year, the place they will have chosen, and he should see if it were suitable for them."

In the spring of 1732 Joncaire reported to the Governor that these Indians were settled in villages ("*en village*") "on the other side of the beautiful river of Oyo, six leagues below the River Atigué. The "Beautiful river," or Ohio, at that time designated the present Ohio and the Allegheny to its source. The Atigué⁶⁶ was the Rivière au Boeuf, now

66. See Bellin's "Carte de la Louisiana."

known as Le Boeuf creek or Venango river. This seat of the Shawanese, therefore, was a few miles below the present city of Franklin, Pa. To them Joncaire was remanded with gifts and instructions to keep English traders away, and to do all possible to cement their friendship with the French.

In this connection may be noted a curious statement made by an old Seneca chief, whose name is written by the French as Oninquoinonte. Being with Joncaire at Montreal in 1732, the Seneca made a speech to the Governor in which he said: "You know, my father, it is I who made it easy to build the stone house at Niagara, my abode having always been there. Since I cannot conquer my love for strong drink, I surrender that place and establish myself in another place, at the portage of the Le Boeuf river, which was and is the rendezvous of the Chaouanons." He added with unwonted ardor, that the French were masters of all this region, and he would die sooner than not sustain them in their work of settling the Shawanese.

A fair degree of success appears to have rewarded Joncaire's efforts. He is hereafter spoken of as commandant among the Shawanese, and his residence for a considerable part of each year was in the beautiful valley that stretches between long-sloping hills below the junction of the Venango and the Allegheny. Already a historic region, it was destined in a few years to be the scene of important events which should link its story yet more closely with that of the Niagara. Here at the junction of the rivers, Washington is to camp on his way to demand that the French withdraw from the region. Here France is soon to stretch her chain of forest-buried forts, that rope of sand on which she vainly relied for the control of a continent.

The disposition to migrate further west, shown by several of the Indian tribes at this period, gave a remarkable turn to the policies of the rival white nations on the continent. It was an early wave in the movement of an inevitable flood; though there is little in the old records to indicate that either the English or French saw very far into the future, or gave much heed to anything save relations

of immediate profit and advantage. The migrations of the Shawanese covered many years, and included many removes. In 1736 Joncaire found his villages on the Allegheny restless with the prospect of a new settlement in the vicinity of Detroit, on lands ranged over by their friends the Hurons. The next year, the sale by the Senecas and Cayugas of certain lands on the Susquehanna, near where some of the Shawanese had continued to live, started a new migration, and fostered bitterness towards the English. From this time on for many years—for many years indeed after the fall of New France—we find traces of the Shawanese at many points in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys; and not until the French were finally forced out did the rivalry cease for the friendship of these shift and uncertain savages; not, obviously, for the sake of that friendship, but because the rival Powers deemed it essential for their control of the inland highways and of the fur trade.

Regarding the proposed settlement at Detroit, the Shawanese pledged themselves to Joncaire to go to Montreal in the spring of 1737, "to hear the Marquis de Beauharnois discourse on their migration." Louis XV., whose phrase has just been quoted,⁶⁷ thought that the proposed settlement "is very desirable, so as to protect the fidelity of these Indians against the insinuations of the English. But the delay they interpose to that movement induces His Majesty to apprehend that the Marquis de Beauharnois will meet with more difficulties than he had anticipated, and that the English, with whom His Majesty is informed they trade, had made sufficient progress among them to dissuade them therefrom."

And the main instrument on whom both Governor and King relied was the veteran Joncaire. But the time of his achievements was at an end. On June 29, 1739, he died at Niagara. A band of Shawanese, conducted by Douville de la Saussaye, reached Montreal on July 21st following, and carried the news of the death of the veteran. As the dis-

67. Dispatches, Versailles, May 10, 1737.

patches speak of the receipt at Montreal of news of his death, and do not state that his body was carried there, the conclusion is at least plausible that he was buried somewhere at Niagara.

On Sept. 12, 1740, the Five Nations sent a deputation to Montreal, where they addressed M. de Beaucourt, the Governor, with much ceremony and the presentation of many wampum belts. "Father," said their spokesman, extending a large belt, "you see our ceremony; we come to bewail your dead, our deceased son, Monsieur de Joncaire; with this belt we cover his body so that nothing may damage it. . . . The misfortune which has overtaken us has deprived us of light; by this belt [giving a small white one] I put the clouds aside to the right and to the left, and replace the sun in its meridian. Father," the orator continued, holding out another string of wampum, "by this belt I again kindle the fire which had gone out through our son's death"; then, by way of condolence, with still another belt: "We know that pain and sorrow disturb the heart, and cause bile; by this belt, we give you a medicine which will cleanse your heart, and cheer you up." Eight days later, the Governor, who had been detained at Quebec, sent reply to the warriors: "You had cause to mourn for your son Joncaire, and to cover his body; you have experienced a great loss, for he loved you much. I regret him like you." The marquis promised to send back with them Joncaire's son, already well known to them. "He will fill, near you, the same place as your late son. Listen attentively to whatever he will say to you from me." And thenceforth, in the affections of the Senecas of Western New York, the son is to reign in his father's stead. The story of Chabert de Joncaire the elder is ended.

NOTE.—Much of the data in the foregoing chapters, especially chapters XI. and XII., is drawn from the unprinted "*Correspondance Générale*," and accompanying *mémoires*, special reports and letters preserved in the Archives at Paris, and in part, by means of copies, in the Archives at Ottawa.

ERRATUM.—Page 85, for "Le Barre," read "La Barre."

THE
TALE OF CAPTIVES
AT FORT NIAGARA

BY FRANK H. SEVERANCE

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There are brought together in the following list, from many sources, both manuscript and printed, such facts as I have gleaned relating to persons in captivity at Fort Niagara, or those who, having been captives, were there on their way to freedom; especially those unhappy American pioneers who were brought captive to the fort by Indians.

The subject has before now engaged my attention. In certain studies¹ I have given with more or less of detail the adventures of several of these prisoners. Researches among the documents known as the Haldimand and Bouquet papers, preserved in the British Museum (verified copies in the Archives at Ottawa), have served to stimulate my interest in this phase of our border history. Especially in the letters and official reports of British officers stationed at Fort Niagara during the American Revolution, are to be found many references to American prisoners, brought to that old stronghold by Indian captors. With a view to setting in order as many facts as possible relating to the early history of Fort Niagara, I made note of the names of these captives, as they were met with in my reading, and in brief form, of the circumstances of their captivity. As the list grew, my interest in it grew, for it was seen to represent a

1. "With Bolton at Fort Niagara," and "What Befel David Ogden," in "Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier," 2nd ed., Cleveland, 1903.

phase of the Revolutionary warfare which was particularly marked in the Niagara region, but which has not heretofore been made the subject of particular study. Thus I was led to enlarge the scope of my list, so that it should include all prisoners of whom I could learn, who were held at Fort Niagara by the French or the British, prior to the session of the fort to the Americans in 1796. While this adds a few notable names, and makes the review of this phase of our border history more nearly complete, it still leaves the list distinctively of the Revolutionary period.

In the days when the French controlled the region of the Lakes, the prisoners brought to Fort Niagara were of two classes.

There were the men and women, and still oftener the children, who had been carried off from the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania and Virginia by the Indians. These captivities were a phase of the border strife which shifted as the frontier shifted, and in which the Indian marauders were for two or three decades in the French interest, then for forty years in league with the British. Under the French, the Indians carried their prisoners into the country north of the Ohio, sometimes turning them over to the officers at Detroit or Niagara; but more often adopting them, especially if the prisoners were young. Of this class was Mary Jemison, the "White Woman of the Genesee." Undoubtedly, in far more cases than we have record of, the identity of prisoners who were the descendants of Puritan or Dutch or Quaker ancestors, or the Scotch-Irish frontiersmen of Pennsylvania, was forever lost in the villages of the Senecas, the Delawares, and the Shawanese; and blood which might have claimed worthy ties in the civilized world, blended with that of the wilderness savage. The half-breed products of these unions, as in the case of Mary Jemison's children and others notorious in border annals, usually combined the primitive savagery of the Indian with the acme of white man's evil. The union of French and Indian blood—not, indeed, a sequel of captivity, but of a lawless choice—was for many years so com-

mon as to produce a well-marked variety of the human species; some of the individuals of which, as in the Monteur family, attained a reputation for adroit and versatile fiendishness rarely shown by the nobler full-blooded savage.

A wholly different class of captives, during the French period, were traders in the English interest, who ventured into the territory claimed by the French, and were made prisoners. The first of this class of whom we have record was Major Patrick McGregory and his Dutch comrade in misfortune, Johannes Rooseboom, whose trading career on the Lakes was cut short by the vigilance of La Durantaye, DuLhut (Duluth) and Tonty. With their Dutch and English followers, and a horde of savages, they were brought down Lake Erie, in 1687; they were prisoners at the fort which Denonville built that year on the site years after to be marked by Fort Niagara. It is not unlikely that in an earlier day some unruly follower of La Salle had been held prisoner here, for theft or attempted desertion; but so far as records show McGregory and Rooseboom are the first white prisoners on the banks of the Niagara.

There is a long lapse of time—the dark decades on the Niagara—during which we can make chronicle of no captivities. But towards the end of the French period we find once more English traders from the colonies being apprehended and brought hither by the French: John Peter Salling the Virginian in 1743 or '44; Luke Irwin and Thomas Bourke, Pennsylvania adventurers, in 1751. When, in 1753, Major George Washington, Christopher Gist and their escort reached the French post at Venango, one of their most earnest enquiries was, "By what authority several English subjects had been made prisoners?" Capt. Reparti replied, that he "had orders to make prisoners of any who attempt to trade upon these waters." Washington made special inquiry for John Trotter and James McClochlan, traders who had been apprehended by the French and sent to Canada, undoubtedly by way of Fort

Niagara, though I find no record of their detention at that stronghold.

It was not to be long, however, before the tables were fairly turned. Capt. Francois Pouchot,² the last French defender of Fort Niagara, was himself the first French prisoner of the British at that post; and with him, on the fateful 25th of July, 1759, were surrendered to the British 486 men (607 according to British accounts) and ten officers, besides women and children.

The next year, the last French defender of Detroit, the adventurous Capt. Bellère, who in his time had taken captive many English and Dutch colonists and traders, was brought with his garrison, prisoners of war to Fort Niagara, by the equally adventurous Rogers the Ranger. The remnants of various French garrisons west and south-west passed through Fort Niagara, in the hands of the British; and one long chapter in the history of the old hawk's nest" was ended.³

2. This is, so far as the writer knows, the first publication of Captain Pouchot's given name. The information is had from the register of the parish of St. Hugues, at Grenoble, France, wherein is recorded: "*Le neuvième avril 1712, j'ay baptisé Francois Pouchot, né le même jour,*" etc.

3. There are loose stories—the authors of which usually refer to "well-founded tradition"—to the effect that political prisoners and persons of distinction whom the Court of France desired to be rid of, were sent to Fort Niagara and incarcerated in its dungeons. Writers of guide-books and newspaper sketches have been attracted by this phase of Fort Niagara captivity, but uniformly neglect to show any basis for their "well-founded tradition." Some years ago Mr. L. B. Proctor of Albany made a notable contribution to this class of literature with a paper published in the *Albany Argus* (April 12, 1891), and subsequently in pamphlet form, entitled "The American Bastile," wherein he gave certain alleged incidents in the history of Fort Niagara, under the command of one Col. De la Vega, "an elegant, accomplished, brave but dissolute officer," who, in order to maintain a guilty alliance with "a beautiful girl, the daughter of the second in command under De la Vega," wickedly made way with his wife, who had been so rash as to accompany her spouse to Fort Niagara. The secret dungeons of the place are described, with their "instruments for execution, torture and secret murder," and walls covered with names "famous in history." "Lady De la Vega" is supposed to have perished in one of these dungeons, where years after the Americans are said to have found the skeleton of a woman chained to the wall, with a costly bracelet on its wrist, about its neck "a string of elegant gold beads, to which a rich embossed cross was attached," rings on its fingers—and, perhaps, bells on its toes. "The initials on the ring and bracelet indicate that it was the remains of the wife of Col. De la Vega," etc. This tragic affair would have greater significance to the student of Niagara history if it could be shown that Niagara ever had a commander named De la Vega. The poisoned well and other accessories are not omitted; so that Fort Niagara seems to belong in the same lurid list as the Lion's Mouth of Venice or the torture-chambers of the Inquisition, as depicted by old romancers. The sober history of Fort Niagara holds tragedy enough; there is no need of tricking it out with invention and cheap romance. While it is possible that political prisoners were sent from France to be held captive at Fort Niagara, I have yet to find the first trace of evidence that any were ever sent, or that the post was even thought of for such a purpose.

In the years immediately following the overthrow of French power, the gradually increasing hatred of the Indian for the British culminated in the conspiracy of Pontiac. To indicate the causes of this hatred would be to enter upon a theme long since reviewed by able writers; nor is it wholly germane to the present inquiry. Sir Jeffrey Amherst's contempt for the Indian is vividly set forth in the pages of Parkman's "Pontiac." At Fort Niagara, as elsewhere, the British officers withheld the customary presents from the Indians, and pursued such a tactless, such a harsh and aggravating course that the red man's resort to tomahawk and scalping-knife was but a natural sequence. There had been only a brief cessation of the warfare, especially against the frontiers of Pennsylvania. During the later years of French control on the Niagara and the Ohio, more captives appear to have been taken, in the Pennsylvania valleys, than in any other quarter exposed to Indian raids. In 1756, when Col. John Armstrong destroyed the Indian town of Kittanning, he found there a dozen or more English prisoners, most of whom, but for his rescue, would probably have been carried to Canada by the Niagara route.

At Lancaster, Pa., Aug. 19, 1762, the Six Nations delivered up fifteen prisoners. Under the treaty of 1763 hundreds of captives were restored, and during the winter of 1764 there was an abatement of hostilities on the part of the Indians, though there never was a time when the white settlers on the then frontiers did not find the Indians hostile. The red man's jealousy of the encroaching colonist was not lessened by the fact that the Treaty of Paris extended England's claim of jurisdiction into vast regions where before she had not dared assert herself. But Col. Bouquet's expedition in 1764 awed the tribes among whom he penetrated, and they generally complied with his command to free their prisoners. At the forks of the Muskingum, in October, the Delaware chiefs delivered up eighteen white prisoners, and promised to release eighty-three more then in their villages. On November 9th, 206 captive men,

women and children, were delivered up to him by the Senecas and Delawares. A few days later, the Shawanese, who had held out to the last, delivered up a number of prisoners, and in the following spring carried the rest, about a hundred in all, to Fort Pitt. A most touching chapter in border history is the account of the home-coming of these captives, most of whom had been taken from Pennsylvania and Virginia settlements.⁴ This treaty brought a large number of captive children to Carlisle and Philadelphia, to be recognized and claimed by parents.

Not even at this time did the Indians deliver up all their captives. The Shawanese in particular were defiant in attitude and were known to retain in their villages many white men, women and children.

The decade from 1764 to 1774 was a comparatively quiet period on the frontiers. But in the latter year the massacres of Lord Dunmore's war renewed the Indian raids; and there was no respite until the close of the Revolution. Throughout all this period, increasingly from year to year, the name Niagara gained a more and more direful significance. On the Ohio, on the Kanawha, throughout all the deep valleys of the Pennsylvania streams where settlement had pushed its way, Fort Niagara was known as the spot where British and Indian plotted the destruction of the American frontiers, the base whence the war-parties came, and the retreat to which they returned with scalps and prisoners. In June, 1786, the inhabitants of Northumberland Co., Pennsylvania, on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, addressed an impassioned memorial to the executive committee of the State, asking that troops be sent for their protection. After stating where their present small force was posted, and reciting the woes they had suffered from incursions of the enemy, they said: "Berks, Lancaster and Cumberland Countys must be involved in the calamities which we at present suffer. Nor is this all. This would be a new Niagara to the Enemy. Hither their

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An interesting glimpse of the prisoners at Fort Niagara in its last days under the French is afforded by the following extract from the news columns of the New York *Mercury* of Monday, Aug. 20, 1759:

"There were several English prisoners found in the fort at Niagara when it surrendered, among which were John Peter, who was taken the 23d of May last in company with one Robinson and Bell (who were left among the Indians) that belonged to Capt. Bullet's company of Virginians, on their way to Fort Legonier from Ray's Town. Margaret Painter, taken eighteen months since in Pennsylvania Government. Edward Hoskins, taken ten years since on the borders of New England. Nathaniel Sullivan, taken at Potowmack in Virginia, the 25th September last. Isabel Stockton, a Dutch girl, taken Oct. 1, 1757, at Winchester. Christopher and Michael Franks, brothers, born at Tulpehocken, Co. of Bucks, in Pennsylvania. John McDaniel, taken the 12th of July, 1758, near Halifax in Nova Scotia. Molly Heysham, taken four years since at the Blue Mountains. Also two or three young children, names unknown, whose parents were killed by the Indians when taken. Many of the above prisoners have been at Niagara one or two years past, and had their liberty to walk about, as the captives made to the southward must pass that way in their Rout to Canada." Hoskins' captivity of ten years is the

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longest of which we find mention in connection with Fort Niagara, though probably a large part of that time was passed with the Indians. Usually, as the following tale of captivities repeatedly shows, when the sojourn among the Indians ran into the years it was because the captive was no longer regarded as a captive, but as one with his adoptive people.

Still another glimpse of the romance and the domestic complications which sometimes were the sequel of a captivity, is afforded by the following extract from the *Boston Gazette* of Sept. 10, 1759. The woman in question may have been one of those whose name appears in our list:

"A private letter from Albany informs us that when the French prisoners lately taken at Niagara arrived at that city, in their way down hither, an English woman, wife to one of the soldiers that was in Gen. Braddock's army, having been taken prisoner by the French at the time of the defeat of Gen. Braddock, and supposing that her husband was slain at that time, during her imprisonment married a French subaltern, by whom she had one child, being with her husband coming prisoner through Albany, was there discovered by her former husband, who was then on duty there. He immediately demanded her, and after some struggles of tenderness for her French husband she left him and closed again with her first—tho' 'tis said the French husband insisted on keeping the child as his property, which was assented to by the wife and first husband."

All of the captivities of the earlier period are but trifling as compared with the great number during the Revolutionary War. It is instructive to note how the main features of that war on the western frontier, were mere retaliatory strokes. The so-called Lord Dunmore's war was little more than massacre and counter-massacre, first by whites, then by red men, the latter more and more reinforced by the British. In 1778 came the great stroke at Wyoming, soon after followed by that at Cherry Valley. In retaliation for these attacks, Sullivan's raid through the Seneca Lake and Genesee valleys was planned and carried out in

1779. It scattered the Senecas, drove them out from their old homes, and broke forever the power of the Iroquois Confederacy. Yet it did not put an end to the British and Indian attacks on the American frontiers. Indeed, there was no period during the war in which the allies at Fort Niagara were more active than in 1780 to 1782. During this period many war parties constantly haunted the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys, and those of eastern Pennsylvania, of the Susquehanna and Juniata. The purpose of these raids was not merely to burn, to kill and to take captive, but to cripple the enemy by destroying the crops on which the Americans relied for the subsistence of their army. At that period, the Schoharie valley was one of the best-developed grain sections in America. That Sir John Johnson, Butler, Brant and their followers did their work effectively is shown by the following extract from a letter by James Madison, dated Philadelphia, Nov. 14, 1780. After speaking of the difficulty experienced in getting supplies of wheat and flour for the army, he adds:

"The inroads of the enemy on the frontiers of New York have been most fatal to us in this respect. They have almost totally ruined that fine wheat country, which was able, and from the energy of their government, was likely to supply magazines of flour, both to the main army and the northwestern posts. The settlement of Schoharie, which alone was able to furnish, according to a letter from Gen. Washington, eighty thousand bushels of grain for public use, has been totally laid in ashes."

Writing elsewhere⁵ of Indian captivities I have summed up this phase of the subject as follows:

"Most of the captivities which figure in American history came about through the alliance of the red man with white foes of the American settler. In the old French war, Indians from Canada carried off people who were their enemies only because they lived in British colonies. In the American Revolution, the rebel colonists, pioneers, and soldiers were captured by Indians, not because of any grievance which the Indians had against them, but in the

5. "Narratives of Captivity . . . The Captivity and Sufferings of Benjamin Gilbert and his Family," Cleveland, 1904.

ordinary (Indian) course of warfare, in the British interest. . . .

"The regions in which captivities have occurred varied according to the period. As every reader of colonial New England history knows, many a frontier hamlet was attacked and the wretched prisoners carried northward into Canada, 'whence they came not back,' as many an old chronicle records. As settlement pushed westward, and the conflict between France and Great Britain was carried into the valley of the Ohio, the course of captivities ran westwardly, from the borders of Virginia and Pennsylvania into the wilds of Kentucky and Ohio. French officers at their posts on the Ohio and the Great Lakes ransomed from Indian hands many a white prisoner.

"But the Indian captivity, as a feature of American warfare, did not reach its greatest development until the days of the Revolution, when the British, established on the lake and western posts from which they had ousted the French, made alliance with the greater part of the Six Nations and employed them with dire effect upon the American frontiers. From no spot in the long chain of wilderness outposts was this sort of warfare waged more fiercely or more successfully than from Fort Niagara, on the south shore of Lake Ontario at the mouth of the famous river. Here, throughout the Revolution, the British maintained a garrison. Here was the principal rendezvous of their most efficient Indian allies, the Senecas; and from this spot, year after year, were sent out raiding expeditions, sometimes under joint British and Indian leadership, sometimes conducted solely by the Indians. They moved swiftly over the forest trails, eastward to the valleys of the Mohawk and upper Susquehanna, or southeasterly into Pennsylvania; fell upon the frontier farms, burned the buildings, slaughtered the cattle, stole the horses, and brought away such prisoners as they did not kill, back over the hundreds of miles of lake and river, valley and forest upland, to the old seats on the lower Genesee or the Tonawanda, or to the base of supplies and encouragement, Fort

Niagara. From this old 'hawks' nest' went forth those savage expeditions which made the names of Wyoming, Cherry Valley, Harpersfield, Bowman's Creek, and many another scene of slaughter memorable in the history of the 'back country' during the Revolution. Probably, during that period, at least a thousand prisoners were brought hither. Many of them spent years of arduous servitude among the natives who adopted them. . . ."

The routes by which prisoners of the Revolutionary period were carried to Canada were various, but in most cases they led through Fort Niagara. The greater part of the captives taken in the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys were brought thither, although their ultimate destination was Montreal or Quebec. I have nowhere found account of Revolutionary captives being carried directly north from the Mohawk to the St. Lawrence, though it is probable that there was some such travel up the West Canada Creek, or the upper Hudson and Champlain. Many a party of braves, however, returning from the upper Mohawk, brought their prisoners to Fort Niagara by way of the great path south of Oneida Lake, through Onondaga, past the outlet of Cayuga Lake, through Ga-nun-da-sa-ga (Geneva), and the Seneca towns of the Genesee and Tonawanda.

But by far the greatest number of prisoners were brought in over the great southwestern route, which tapped not only New York State south of the Mohawk, as far east as the Hudson, but the valleys of the Susquehanna, the Lehigh and the Delaware. Every one of the Schoharie prisoners, of whose captivity we have any account, was carried first up the Schoharie or Cobleskill valleys, southerly, crossing the divide to the head streams of the Delaware or, almost always, of the north branch of the Susquehanna. There were trails on both sides of this stream to the great junction of many paths, at Tioga Point. From here the prisoners were sometimes carried north by the Seneca Lake path, sometimes more to the westward, following the Chemung and Conhocton, the Genesee and

Tonawanda. Many a prisoner, taken in the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys, of whom we read that he was "carried captive to Canada," was taken the long, roundabout way of this southwestern path, Fort Niagara, Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence, to Montreal or Quebec—or even in some cases, to Halifax; returning home by way of Boston.

Many American captives are mentioned, in early local histories and in manuscript records, as having been "carried to Canada," with no indication of the route followed. The New England captives were generally carried north by the Champlain or other direct routes, and do not come into our present survey.

U Sir John Johnson's flight to Canada, in 1776, was not over any of the much-frequented ways. He and his retainers were taken by their Indian escort, northward from the Mohawk by way of the Sacandaga; but not daring to attempt the Champlain valley, which was the great highway to Montreal, they struck through the Adirondack wilderness to the westward, reaching the banks of the St. Lawrence, worn and famished, after nineteen days of great hardship. The experience was one which neither the British nor their Indians were likely to hazard, in conveying prisoners.

// There was one frequented Indian path, which led directly north from the upper Mohawk. It is shown on a map "drawn by Mr. Metcalfe," published in London, Feb. 1, 1780. The field of the map, which is designed primarily to show the points of principal action in the campaign of 1777, under Burgoyne, is the southern Champlain and Lake George region, the upper Hudson, the Mohawk, and territory north and west to the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario. The trail referred to, began on Fish Creek, a tributary of Wood Creek, between Fort Stanwix (Rome) and Oneida Lake, and followed a northerly course until it struck the watershed of the Indian River, which it followed to "Lake Oswegatchie," now Black Lake, thence by its waters and its outlet, the Oswegatchie, to the St. Lawrence at La Galette or present Ogdensburg. This trail is marked

on Metcalfe's map: "Indian path followed by Capt. Roberts, commissary at Michillimackinac." The basis of the map is Sauthier's, published in London in 1779, compiled "from surveys," by order of Maj. Gen. Tryon. There is little doubt that prisoners were carried to Canada by this route, and also by way of Oswego and the east end of Ontario, either by boat, or by the shore, as was Robert Eastburn, a somewhat famous captive of 1756. War parties, at one period and another, came into the Mohawk valley from Montreal, by way of Lake Champlain, to Ballston, where the trail divided, one route striking the Mohawk at Schenectady, another advancing through Glenville to Lewis Creek, at Adriuche, and still another through Galway and down the Juchtanunda Creek to Amsterdam. But the fact remains, that by far the greater number of prisoners during the Revolutionary period, were carried by the war parties back to the base whence these parties had come; and that base, for the Mohawk and Schoharie operations, was not the Adirondack wilderness or even Montreal, but Fort Niagara.

It may be noted that many of the old trails, although referred to as following this or that stream, by no means kept close to the water, unless there was good canoeing. Oftener they followed the ridges, perhaps miles back from the water-course the general direction of which marked their road through the wilderness.

One finds little record of Indian, or British and Indian, incursions against the American back settlements in the first two years of the war; but by 1777 this plan of campaign had begun to be found effective. Brant's first hostile demonstrations in New York were made in May, 1777. In November of that year, also, the first scalping-party from Fort Niagara reached the Juniata valley in Pennsylvania. In 1778 this phase of the warfare attained its climax at Wyoming. A year later, Gens. Sullivan and James Clinton with their army of some 5,000, met and utterly routed some 1,500 Indians and Tories at Newtown, near the present Elmira. The Six Nations Confederacy never recovered

from this blow; but far from ending the Indian raids against the American settlements, Sullivan's blighting campaign seems rather to have stimulated them. In the next year war parties from Fort Niagara harried all the western frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania, and carried death and desolation into a dozen valleys. In 1780 Sir John Johnson and the Butlers made their first raid through the Mohawk valley proper; and it was in the same year that the Schoharie settlements were destroyed. In that year and the following the firebrand and the hatchet were busy at Little Falls, at Canajoharie, Fort Plain, Bowman's Creek, Cherry Valley. The slender barrier of the friendly Oneidas was broken down, and over all the trails, from the Mohawk to the Ohio, the stream of prisoners flowed unceasingly to Fort Niagara.

// As continued study of this phase of the Revolution brings to one a wider comprehension of it, there comes also a sense of the little we know of it; a realization of the lack of record, and a conviction that if such record existed, it would show a far greater number of captives than the fragmentary known facts indicate.

Undoubtedly many of whom we have some knowledge, but with no indication of route, were brought to Fort Niagara. No names, however, are included in the following list concerning which there is not good evidence to show that they rightfully belong there. The list is but an attempt to preserve in form convenient for reference such facts as have been assembled regarding these captives at Fort Niagara. In the case of those whose story is already published at length, but a brief abstract is here given, the reader being referred to the more complete narrative elsewhere. In general, the source of information is briefly indicated. The list may prove of value to students. It will at least by mere force of numbers make impressive this phase of the Revolution in the Niagara region.

CAPTIVES AT FORT NIAGARA.

ALLAN, EBENEZER. The accident of the alphabet puts at the head of the list of Niagara captives one who of all men was least typical of the class. "Indian" Allan, as he was called, was a native of New Jersey, and during the Revolution a follower of Brant and Butler. Near the close of that war, he made his headquarters at Mary Jemison's home, at Gardeau in the Genesee valley. He worked for her, then brought goods from Philadelphia and opened trade at Mount Morris. For carrying a bogus message of peace to the Americans, he won the enmity of the British at Fort Niagara. After many adventures he was arrested; he escaped, and was rearrested and carried bound to Niagara, where he was held a prisoner through one winter—probably a year or two after the peace of 1783. In the spring he was taken to Montreal for trial and acquitted—the charge being, apparently, that he had carried a peace-belt of wampum to the enemy, with intent to deceive. His subsequent career, as murderer, Bluebeard of the backwoods (he had many wives, not always one at a time), and later as prisoner again at Niagara under the Americans, presents many extraordinary features, which are not, however, within the scope of this schedule.

Turner's "History of the Holland Purchase."

ANDERSON, (Lieut.) ———. Taken prisoner on the Ohio, Aug. 24, 1781. Brought to Fort Niagara, and sent thence, with thirty others, among them Capt. Stokely, Lieuts. Hall, Robinson, Craig, Ravensberg and Scott, Ensign Hunter and Adjutant Guthrie, to Montreal.

Haldimand MSS., British Museum; copies in Archives Office, Ottawa.

ANDERSON, GEORGE. Name also given as Andrieson. Taken by the Indians at Lackawack (Legewegh), Ulster County, N. Y., in 1778. With a companion, Jacob Osterhout, was carried, according to a contemporary account, "within one day's march of Niagara." (*Connecticut Journal*, Sept. 2, 1778). Another relation says, "A few miles from the present site of Binghamton." ("Tom Quick, the Indian Slayer: and the Pioneers of Minisink and Wawarsink." Monticello, N. Y., 1851.) Anderson tomahawked the three Indians who had them in charge, while they slept, and with the timid and helpless Osterhout, fled to the settlements, narrowly escaping starvation. They reached Wawarsink, but Osterhout died soon after from exhaustion and privation, and Anderson, formerly an active and robust pioneer, became insane, shunned men, made his abode in a cave, and finally disappeared.

ANDRIESON. *See* ANDERSON, GEORGE.

ARANTS, JACOB, of Mercer's Company, Virginia Regiment, which capitulated to the French at Great Meadows, July 4, 1754. Was taken to Fort Du Quesne as an Indian prisoner, and sent on, in the custody of the Indians, by way of Fort Niagara, to Montreal.

"Memoirs of Major Robert Stobo, of the Virginia Regiment," Pittsburg, 1854. The anonymous author was Neville B. Craig, who obtained a copy of the "Memoirs" from the original manuscript in the British Museum.

ARMSTRONG, HANNAH. Apparently taken at Fort Stanwix in 1783. In that year David Ogden saw her, a young woman, with other captives, at the Niagara carrying-place, now Lewiston. Her captors carried her across the river into Canada; no further trace of her.

"True Narrative of the Capture of David Ogden," etc., by Josiah Priest, Lansingburgh, N. Y., 1840; Severance's "Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier."

ARMSTRONG, THOMAS. Taken in infancy by the Senecas during the Revolution; adopted by his captors; in 1818 and later years was an interpreter at the Buffalo Creek mission; Dec. 4, 1820, married Rebecca Hempferman, also a white captive.

"Account of Sundry Missions performed among the Senecas and Munsees," etc., by Rev. Timothy Alden, New York, 1827. Turner's "Holland Purchase." Buf. Hist. Soc. Pubs., vol. vi.

ARNEST family. Three in number, given names, ages, etc., not stated. Made captive in Pennsylvania, July, 1781; arrived in Montreal from Fort Niagara, Oct. 4, 1782.

Haldimand MSS.

AROWIN, LUKE. *See* IRWIN, LUKE.

AUBRY, (Capt.) ———. A Knight of St. Louis, taken prisoner by Sir Wm. Johnson at Fort Niagara (in the engagement to the south of the fort, near La Belle Famille), July 25, 1759. Sent to New York, with Pouchot and the other French prisoners from Niagara. He was subsequently twice governor of Louisiana. In 1769 he sailed from New Orleans for Bordeaux, "and the vessel had already entered the River Garonne, when she was overtaken by a heavy storm and sank, Feb. 24, 1770. Governor Aubry and all on board (except the captain and a couple of sailors) perished on this disastrous occasion." (Gayarré.) Aubry was a prominent figure in the campaigns and expeditions on the Niagara, Lake Erie, Alleghany and Ohio, during the last years of the French period.

BAKER, JOHN, of Mercer's Company, Virginia Regiment, taken by the French at Great Meadows, July 4, 1754. Sent to Canada in the custody of the Indian who captured him, following the line of French posts from Du Quesne to Niagara, thence down the lake to Montreal.

Stobo's "Memoirs."

BEATLES, JAMES. Taken by Capt. Bird at Licking Creek, Pa., Aug. 6, 1781; James Rudelle and James McCarthy were taken at the same time, and all brought to Fort Niagara, whence they were sent with thirty other American prisoners to Montreal, arriving there Nov. 28, 1781.

Haldimand MSS.

BELLETRÉ, (Capt.) PICOTE DE. French commandant at Detroit, who surrendered to Major Robert Rogers, Nov. 29, 1760. Bellètré and his garrison were sent to Fort Niagara, as prisoners of war, thence to Montreal. Bellètré's career is worthy of a more extended record than would be in place here. As early as 1746 he was sent to Bay Verte in command of a "biscayenne." The same year he was at Beaubassin, returning to Quebec in October. In the winter of that year he appears to have entered upon the western service which was long to engage him. It was no doubt in 1746 or '47 that he was first at Fort Niagara, then under the command of Capt. Duplessis. In April, 1747, he returned to Quebec from Fort St. Joseph, bringing with him twelve chiefs of western tribes. In November of the same year he returned to Fort St. Joseph. In a report on Indian affairs at this time M. Boisherbert spoke of him as "known and loved by the Indians of the River St. Joseph," and added: "He is an Ensign of excellent conduct, who served through the Chicaches campaign, and marched to the village under M. de Céloron. . . . Sieur de Bellètré is a brave fellow, who pleases every one that is with him. He accompanies Father de la Richardie as far as Detroit." The next year, at Detroit, de Bellètré distinguished himself by rescuing the crew of a canoe from Indians and capturing the assailants. In 1751-52 he was among the Miamis; in 1756 he led 250 Miamis and Outaganons on a raid "150 leagues below Fort Duquesne," into Carolina; those killed and carried off captive by his force numbered 300. On this expedition he was wounded in the arm and shoulder. In 1757 we find him leading a war-party of 300 men "in the direction of Corlar," i. e., Albany. His attack on the German Flats, opposite Fort Herkimer, and raid through the Mohawk valley, in November, 1757, were a severe blow to the English. Lt. Gov. De Lancey reported to the Lords of Trade, Jan. 5, 1758, that the destruction at the Flats, amounted to "twenty thousand pounds this money" (i. e., New York standard), that some of the inhabitants were slain and "about one hundred carried into captivity." The French report of the expedition gives minute details of the destruction wrought, and puts the number of killed at 40, and of prisoners at "nearly 150 men, women and children, among whom is the Mayor of the village," etc., while the value of property destroyed or carried off is in astonishingly large figures. The grain destroyed or appropriated was "a much larger quantity than the Island of Montreal has produced in years of abundance"; the report adds, "the same of hogs," and says that 3,000 horned cattle, 3,000 sheep, 1,500 horses; furniture, merchandise and liquor to the value of 1,500,000 livres; specie amounting to 100,000 livres, and wampum, silver bracelets, fine cloths, etc., equal to 80,000 livres, all

fell into the hands of Bellère and his followers. But his retreat was so hasty that he killed many of the horses, and left behind much of the plunder. Bellère was on the Niagara when the last French defense of Fort Niagara was made, in July, 1759; but was sick and took no part in the action. A few days after the surrender of Fort Niagara he led the forces from Presqu' Isle and Fort Machault, to Detroit, where he commanded until his surrender to Major Rogers in November, 1760. He had in his time made captive many English; and it was no doubt with uncommon satisfaction that the British conducted him to the old stronghold of Niagara, at last a prisoner himself.

N. Y. Col. Docs.; Paris Docs.

BELLINGER, ———. One of two brothers, young lads, who were taken captive by a party led by Capt. John Dockstader, July 9, 1781, at a small settlement called Curry Town, in the present town of Root, Montgomery County, N. Y. The Bellinger boys were taken with the family of Jacob Dievendorf, James Butterfield, Carl Herwagen and others, most of whom were tomahawked and scalped. This was the fate of one of the Bellingers. The other, and James Butterfield, were carried to Fort Niagara. Simms says of this expedition that "two of the enemy carried a wounded comrade from the battle-field, on a blanket between two poles, all the way to the Genesee valley, where he died."

Simms, "History of Schoharie County."

BERRY family. Names, ages and number in family not specified. Captured in Virginia, June 24, 1780. Arrived in Montreal from Fort Niagara, Oct. 4, 1782.

Haldimand MSS.

BETTS, (Corporal) SAMUEL. Taken prisoner by Brant near Fort Stanwix, March 2, 1781, with David Ogden and others. Shared in general the adventures of Ogden (*q. v.*). On the march to Niagara, Brant delighted to annoy Betts, and compelled him to parade his fellow prisoners, fifteen in number and put them through the manual, according to the tactics of Baron Steuben.

Priest's "David Ogden." Simms' "Schoharie County." Severance's "Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier."

BIDLACK, (Capt.) JAMES. An elderly man, taken prisoner at Shawnee (Shawnee), Pa. In the autumn of 1781 he was released on parole by the British at Fort Niagara, and returned home.

Details of Capt. Bidlack's captivity are lacking. Miner's "Wyoming" (p. 261) states that he was captured, December 21st—apparently 1778—with Josiah Rogers, while "crossing the flats on their way to Plymouth. Springing from their covert, the savages failed in an attempt to seize the bridles of their horses. A race ensued of intense interest. The girth of Capt. Bidlack's saddle breaking, he was thrown and made prisoner." Again (p. 297) Miner says: "In the autumn [1781] the settlement was surprised and gratified by the return of the aged Captain James Bidlack and Mr. Harvey . . . two of the

prisoners taken the preceding December." An account by Gordon, an early "historian," of Bidlack's torture at the stake, is disposed of as "without foundation." Capt. Bidlack's son James was killed at the battle of Wyoming.

BORST, (Lieut.) JACOB, of Cobleskill. A well-known and active figure during the earlier years of the Revolution, in the Schoharie valley. Late in October, 1781, with Sergeant William Kneiskern, Jacob Kerker and Christian Myndert, at the latter's place in Sharon, he was helping to secure the crops and shut up the hogs. The day being cold and stormy, the four went into Myndert's house to warm themselves; were there surprised by a party of Indians commanded by one Walradt, a Mohawk-valley tory, and after a scuffle were all made prisoners and tightly bound. The journey to Fort Niagara, most of the way through snow, was one of great hardship. As they approached Niagara, they had to run the gauntlet, in which Borst was so severely chastised that he became consumptive and died soon after reaching Fort Niagara.

BOUCK, ABRAHAM. A boy taken with George Frimire, the Utmans, and others, near Cobleskill, in September, 1781, carried captive to Niagara.

Simms, "History of Schoharie County."

BOUCK, SILAS. Taken prisoner at Wawarsink, N. Y., Aug. 12, 1781, by a party of 400 Indians, British and tories led by one Caldwell. He was offered his freedom if he would guide a party against the settlement at Newtown, but he refused. The frontiersmen and some American troops rallying, the Indians fled, leaving Caldwell without guides. "He induced Bouck to pilot him back to Niagara, by promising to treat him well when they got there." How Bouck got his knowledge of the western trails is not known. Bouck's coming thus to the Niagara was exceptional, perhaps unique, for he was a trusty Whig. From Fort Niagara he was sent to Montreal, confined in a log prison, where he suffered from hunger and harsh treatment. He escaped in the night with two other captives; they attempted to swim the St. Lawrence, Bouck being the only one to reach the opposite shore. He made a perilous journey through the wilderness, narrowly escaping recapture by Indians, and sustaining life by eating snails, a raw rattlesnake, etc. After an absence of fourteen months he reached Catskill and his home, where he had long been given up as dead.

For burning of Wawarsink and capture of Bouck, see "Tom Quick the Indian Slayer, and the Pioneers of Minisink and Wawarsink," Monticello, 1851; *Connecticut Journal*, Oct. 11, 1781; and numerous other contemporary or early accounts.

BOUCK, WILLIAM. In July, 1781, while harvesting, in the town of Middleburgh, some six miles south of Schoharie, William Bouck; his son Lawrence, aged 18; Frederick Mattice and his son Frederick, aged 10; and two little girls, a sister and cousin of young Mattice, were surprised and made captive by a party of Indians

headed by Capt. David, a Mohawk. They were carried up the Schoharie valley; i. e., to the southward. On the first day of the captivity the little girls were liberated and sent home. At night, young Lawrence Bouck escaped. The two Mattices were charged by the Indians with having freed him, and were tied to a tree to be killed. Persuaded by the elder Bouck that they had nothing to do with the escape of his son, they were allowed to live, but were harshly treated all the way to Fort Niagara. (*See MATTICE.*) The journey to Fort Niagara occupied twenty days, and much of the time they were at the point of starvation. At one time, for a day or two, probably in the Susquehanna Valley, their only food was a few green apples. For four days they went with nothing to eat. At Oquago they found a colt that had been lost by Capt. Dockstader's party. This was killed, a part made an immediate feast, the rest was dried and carried along. One wild duck was shot, but there seems to have been a well-nigh total lack of game. The party followed the Susquehanna valley to Chenango Point (now Binghamton), and thence followed the great western trail to the Genesee towns, where the prisoners had to run the gauntlet. In the Genesee valley for the first time on the march, they got fresh vegetable food—corn and pumpkins. On arriving at Niagara Bouck and the Mattices were at first confined in the guard-house, then separated, Bouck being sent first to Montreal, then on to Quebec, where he was exchanged, removed to Halifax, and from there sailed for Boston. He reached his home in the Schoharie valley in Christmas week, 1782, after an absence of eighteen months.

Simms, "Schoharie County."

BOUNAFoux (*Bonafour, Bonafous, Bounnaffous*), ———, *Lieut. de*. Commanded the artillery at the siege of Niagara; prisoner of war at that fort with Pouchot, July 25, 1759. *See* POUCHOT.

BOURKE, THOMAS. A trader of Lancaster, Pa., who in 1748, with Luke Irwin of Philadelphia, Joseph Fortiner and John Patton, undertook a trading enterprise on the Ohio. They were taken prisoners by the French and brought to Fort Niagara, thence carried to Montreal, where with others they underwent an examination, June 19, 1751, by the Marquis de la Jonquière. Three of them at least, Bourke, Irwin and Patton, were sent to France as prisoners; the next year they were still held as prisoners at Rochelle.

The Earl of Albermarle to the Earl of Holderness, Paris, March 1, 1752. Also, "The Mystery Revealed," London, 1759. This work, excessively rare, contains an account of the capture of these traders, and of their examination in Montreal, but with names of persons and places misspelled well-nigh beyond recognition. There was some correspondence between Gov. Clinton and the Marquis de la Jonquière, regarding these traders.

BOWEN, OWEN. Appears to have been an American prisoner. He lived with Col. Guy Johnson upwards of three years as a clerk. It is recorded of him that he ran in debt to Taylor & Forsyth, merchants at Fort Niagara; and also that while at the fort he

married a woman prisoner (name not stated), with three children. He was unable to support them, and memorialized Abraham Cuyler, commissary for the prisoners, for a prisoner's allowance of provisions and clothing.

Haldimand MSS.

BRICE, JOHN. With his younger brother Robert, aged 11, he was captured by Indians at Van Rensselaer's Patent, now Rensselaerville, N. Y., in the spring of 1782. With them was taken Capt. William Dietz, whose father, mother, wife and four children were killed and scalped. Their captors took much plunder, but alarmed by pursuit, fled with their three prisoners and eight scalps, by way of the Schoharie and Unadilla, Susquehanna north branch, Chemung and Genesee, nearly starving before they were safely beyond pursuit and could hunt. Near the mouth of the Unadilla, Robert Brice was separated from his brother and Capt. Dietz. The two latter were carried to Fort Niagara, and detained there or in the neighborhood, until the Peace of 1783, when they were joined by Robert and sent down to Montreal. The Brice boys subsequently reached their home. *See* BRICE, ROBERT.

BRICE, ROBERT. Son of a Scotch backwoodsman who migrated to America in 1774, settling at Van Rensselaer's Patent, now Rensselaerville, 22 miles west of Albany, N. Y. In the spring of 1782 this 11-year-old lad was sent on horseback to mill, eight or nine miles through the woods; returning, as he drew near the house of Johannas Dietz, where his brother John was at work, he was seized by a painted warrior; saw his brother and Capt. Dietz prisoners, eight others (seven of the Dietz family and a servant) slain. At the mouth of the Unadilla, Robert was taken away from the rest of the party, and with three Indians, crossed Western New York, being made to run the gauntlet and frequently beaten and maltreated in the Indian villages through which they passed. At the Nine Mile Landing, on Lake Ontario, his head was shaved and decked with feathers, he was dressed and treated as an Indian boy, and taken on fishing and hunting parties. After several weeks his master took him to Fort Erie, where a Scotch vessel captain bought him for \$15. Robert sailed to Detroit, where he was placed in the care of one Parks, also a Scotchman, with whom he remained until the Peace of 1783, when he came down Lake Erie with other captives; they passed from Fort Erie to Fort Schlosser in batteaux, thence making the portage and continuing to Fort Niagara where he found his brother John. The Brice brothers were among the liberated captives who, at this time, men, women and children, numbered about 200. From Montreal they crossed to La Prairie, going thence to St. Johns on the Richelieu in carts; thence up Lake Champlain to Skeensborough, now Whitehall, thence to Albany. There their father met them and they were welcomed home as though risen from the dead.

In 1838, when Josiah Priest published his "Stories of the Revolution," containing the narrative of "The Captive Boys of

Rensselaerville," Robert Brice was a well-to-do farmer in Bethlehem, Albany County; from his own lips Priest had the story of his captivity. Simms, "History of Schoharie County," also tells the story of these boys, whose name he spells "Bryce."

BROKE, THOMAS. See **BOURKE, THOMAS.**

BROWN brothers. Two boys taken with their grandfather Brown, by Brant, near Harpersfield, in April, 1780. The old man was soon killed; the boys appear to have been brought through to Fort Niagara with Alexander Harper and other captives of the same party.

BROWN (or BROOM?), JAMES. A prisoner at Fort Niagara in April, 1781, but details of his capture not known. It is stated (Haldimand MSS.) that he enlisted in the British naval service, and afterwards formed a plan to desert with six men; was evidently foiled in his attempt, for on April 23, 1781, Brig.-Gen. Powell shipped him off from Fort Niagara to Quebec, with William Hinton and three others lately taken on the Ohio; Jasper Edwards, taken at Fort Stanwix in 1781, and with him Sarah Elder; Margaret Odenoffe (?), taken on the Delaware; Eve and Catherine Miller, Christian and Eliza Sheak, taken at different places by the Indians; in all a party of twenty prisoners.

BROWN, JOSEPH. Captured July 4, 1782, near the Upper Fort of Schoharie, carried to Canada by way of Fort Niagara. Simms, "Schoharie County."

BRYCE brothers. See **BRICE.**

BUNDY (Mrs.) NANCY. Taken prisoner at Wyoming, Pa., in 1778, with her husband and two children. Brought to the Genesee, where her husband was taken from her. While in captivity here an Indian sought to make her his wife. She told him that could not be, as she had a husband. He disappeared but returned in a few days and renewed his suit, saying that he had removed the obstacle—had found and killed her husband. Nancy repulsing him, he seized and tied her and brought her to Fort Niagara, where the British officers paid him eight dollars for her, that being, according to several accounts, the usual price for a scalp or a prisoner, though in some cases large sums were paid for captives. At the fort Mrs. Bundy cooked for the officers; she also cared for at least one prisoner, the youth Freegift Patchin (*q. v.*). We have no trace of her after 1780, at Fort Niagara.

BUNN, MATTHEW. Native of Massachusetts, enlisted in 1791, on an expedition into the Indian country; taken captive, October, 1791, near Fort Jefferson, O., and held a prisoner among the Indians about a year and a half. He finally escaped to Detroit, April, 1793. As a prisoner of the British he was sent to Fort Niagara, where he enlisted in the Queen's Rangers, June, 1794. For attempted desertion he was put in irons at Niagara, and flogged with 500 blows. He finally escaped and reached Rehoboth, Mass., in October, 1795.

Bunn's many adventures are recorded in a "Narrative," written by himself, first printed, apparently, at Providence, R. I., in 1796. There are several early editions, one dated Batavia, N. Y., 1826; all very scarce. The "Narrative" is reprinted, with some account of Bunn and his book, in vol. vii, *Bufl. Hist. Soc. Publications*.

BURGHES, ———. A young son of Peter Burgher, who with others was helping his father get in his crops, in the fall of 1778 at Pakatakan, on the upper Delaware, near present Mill Brook, Delaware County, N. Y. The Indians surprised them, killed Peter Burgher, and took the son prisoner. He was carried to Fort Niagara and sold to a British officer. He afterwards returned home and was drowned in the Delaware, near where his father was killed.

Jay Gould's "History of Delaware County." In the "Centennial History of Delaware County" this name appears as "Brugher."

BUTTERFIELD, JAMES. Taken with the Bellingers, Dievendorfs and others in the Mohawk Valley, July 9, 1781. See **BELLINGER**.

BUTTS, BENJAMIN. A New England man, made prisoner some time prior to 1780, in which year he appeared in the Schoharie valley, wearing a green uniform. He had enlisted in the British service, apparently in Butler's Rangers, and had accompanied Sir John Johnson and his detachment of some 500 British Royalist, and German forces, from Fort Niagara, late in September, 1780, over the road which Sullivan had traveled the year before. On the Susquehanna they were joined by a large party of Indians under Brant. It is said that although many of the Indians left him, Johnson had at this time a force of 1000 men, with which to raid the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys. He purposely went late in the year, in order to destroy the gathered crops. Near the Middle Fort of Schoharie, Butts was captured—from the British—by Nicholas Sloughter and Timothy Murphy, the latter a famous soldier of Sullivan's army. Butts soon after returned to his New England home.

Simms, "Schoharie County."

CAMPBELL, (Mrs.) JANE. Wife of Col. Samuel Campbell. She was taken with her four children at Cherry Valley, Nov. 11, 1778. They were brought to Kanadesaga (Geneva), where they were adopted into an Indian family, and Mrs. Campbell worked for her captors, making garments, etc. In the spring of 1779 Col. Butler went to Kanadesaga and with much difficulty secured her release. In June, 1779, she was taken to Fort Niagara, but her children were kept at Kanadesaga; when the Senecas retreated before Sullivan they sought refuge at Fort Niagara, bringing the Campbell children in with them. Mrs. Campbell lived at the fort about a year, and in June, 1780, with her children, was sent down to Montreal, where she was exchanged for the wife and children of Col. Butler, they having been detained as prisoners at Albany. A little son of Mrs. Campbell, who had

been with Mrs. Butler, joined his mother, and some months later the family reached their home at Cherry Valley.

CAMPBELL, JOHN. Aged 11, son of Mrs. Jane Campbell. Taken near Albany, 1780. Sent from Fort Niagara to Montreal, August, 1783. Three other children of Mrs. Campbell shared their mother's captivity; their names are not learned.

Haldimand MSS.

CAMPBELL, JOHN. There is preserved among the Haldimand papers (Ottawa series, "B, 183:134") a letter written at Fort Niagara, Dec. 3, 1779, by one John Campbell to Capt. Lernoult, in which the writer protests the propriety of his conduct notwithstanding detrimental reports, "which reports may spread to my injury in the situation I now am, and not conscious of having even wrote to you before I was a prisoner." No facts have been found regarding his captivity. He does not appear to have been connected in any way with Mrs. Jane Campbell's family.

CANNON, MATTHEW. Father of Mrs. Jane Campbell, and taken captive with her at Cherry Valley, Nov. 11, 1778. His wife was killed, but he was carried to Fort Niagara, where he appears to have been detained until June, 1780, when he was sent to Montreal for exchange.

CAREY, SAMUEL. Was 19 years old in 1778, when he was taken prisoner at Wyoming, Capt. Roland Monteur being his captor. He was naked when taken, having stripped off his clothes in order to swim the Susquehanna river. He was made to swim back again to the other side, was bound, and lay all night on the ground, without food. The next day Monteur led him to a young savage who was mortally wounded, and asked if the prisoner's life should be spared and be taken to the Indian's parents for adoption in place of the dying man. The brave assented and Carey was accordingly painted, given the name of the dying warrior—Coconeunquo—and taken to the Onondagas, where he lived two years as the adopted son of the parents of this Indian. In 1780 he got to Fort Niagara, where he was detained until the end of the war. He reached home June 29, 1784, after six years of captivity. Charles Miner says that with one exception, Carey was the only person made prisoner in the battle, whose life was not sacrificed. This refers to the great battle of July 3d, for we know that several others, taken at or near Wyoming about this time, were brought to Fort Niagara.

"The Hazelton Travelers," appendix to Miner's "History of Wyoming," Phila., 1845.

CARR, DANIEL. Taken prisoner in Exeter, Pa., near the upper end of the Wyoming valley, June 30, 1778, with Daniel Weller and John Gardiner. Several of their companions were killed. Carr, Gardiner and Weller appear to have been sent to Fort Niagara, with other prisoners of the Wyoming fights.

CARVER, (Capt.) JONATHAN. In September, 1759, there was published in the *Royal Magazine* (London) an "Account of the

Fort of Niagara," signed "J. C——r." The writer says: "The author was taken prisoner near Oswego, on the 16th of May, 1758, and carried to the fort of Niagara, from whence he made his escape on the 24th of August following." He gives no particulars. Although the identity of the writer cannot be positively asserted, there is good reason for believing that he was Capt. Jonathan Carver. We know that in 1758 Carver was a second lieutenant in a Massachusetts company, commanded by a Capt. Hawks, which served in a battalion of light infantry, commanded by Col. Oliver Partridge. It was raised by order of Governor Pownall, "for the purpose of invading Canada." Carver's famous book of "Travels" begins with 1766, and he makes no mention of a captivity in it. In Dr. John Coakley Lettson's biographical sketch of Carver, which prefaces the third edition of the "Travels," the above facts are given.

CHRESHIBOOM, ———. A German, in the employ of Ephraim Vrooman (*q. v.*) at Schoharie, at the time of Brant's raid of Aug. 9, 1780. Appears to have been brought to Fort Niagara with some 30 other prisoners, afterwards sent on to Montreal and exchanged. Name dubious, but so spelled in Simms' "History of Schoharie County."

COFFEN, STEPHEN. Was taken prisoner by the French and Indians at Menis [Minas] in 1747; was detained at various places in present Nova Scotia or New Brunswick, thence taken to Quebec. In September, 1752, being still at Quebec, he was thrown into prison for negotiating with some Indians to take him to his native New England. Three months later he was released and allowed to accompany the French expedition to the Ohio. In the capacity of a soldier he thus arrived at Fort Niagara, where the expedition rested fifteen days. He shared in the abortive expedition which built the forts at Presqu' Isle and Le Boeuf, returning to Niagara in November. On their way eastward along the south shore of Lake Ontario, Coffen and a companion deserted, made their way to Oswego, and thence to Sir William Johnson's on the Mohawk. At Mt. Johnson, Jan. 10, 1754, he made a sworn statement before Sir William, of his experiences with the French.

Johnson MSS., N. Y. State Archives.

COLLINS family. Details of captivity not known. Arrived at Montreal from Fort Niagara, Oct. 4, 1782.

Haldimand MSS.

COURNOYER, ———. Lieutenant of the Marine (Fr.), prisoner of war at Fort Niagara, July 25, 1759, with Pouchot, *q. v.*

COWLEY, ST. LEGER. Taken near present Waterville, N. Y., on the Delaware, in the summer of 1779, by an Indian named Seth Henry and three or four others. Isaac Sawyer was taken at the same time. The party started for Fort Niagara, but between the Genesee and the Niagara, Cowley and Sawyer rose in the night, killed two Indians and wounded two, seized the Indians' effects

and started back to "Old Schoharie," where they arrived amid great rejoicing.

Priest's "Stories of the Revolution," Albany, 1838. Jay Gould's "History of Delaware County," Roxbury, 1856. This latter authority says the escape occurred near Tioga Point.

Cox family. Details of captivity not known. Arrived in Montreal from Fort Niagara, Oct. 4, 1782.

Haldimand MSS.

CRAIG, (Lieut.) ———. Taken on the Ohio, Aug. 24, 1781; sent by way of Fort Niagara to Montreal, November, 1781.

Haldimand MSS.

CROGAN, GEORGE. This celebrated interpreter was probably at Fort Niagara more than once. In 1756 Sir William Johnson appointed him a deputy agent of Indian affairs. In that capacity he was at Fort Pitt in 1758, soon after the French evacuation. On an expedition down the Ohio he was captured by the French and taken to Detroit. From Detroit he appears to have been sent East by way of Fort Niagara. He died in New York in 1782.

CROWTHERS, ROBERT. Aged 40. Taken, at some point in Pennsylvania, in October, 1782; sent from Fort Niagara to Montreal, August, 1783.

Haldimand MSS.

DALLEY, JOHN, described as "a very busy servant," taken with his master, Immanuel Ganzalez, April 12, 1780, and confined with him at Fort Niagara some weeks later.

Haldimand MSS.

DALTON, (Capt.) ———. Made prisoner in 1782; arrived at Montreal, with 56 others from Fort Niagara, Oct. 4, 1782.

Haldimand MSS.

DALY, JOHN. Over 60 years old when he was captured by Brant, at the great raid on Schoharie, Aug. 9, 1780. With the Vroomans (*q. v.*) and many others, he was brought by way of Oquago, the Susquehanna and Genesee valleys, to Fort Niagara. In running the gauntlet at an Indian village in Western New York he was so badly hurt that he died soon after reaching Niagara.

Simms, "Schoharie County."

DAVISON, FANNY. Aged 14. Made captive in New York, exact point not learned, April, 1780; sent with ten other American prisoners from Fort Niagara to Montreal in August, 1783.

Haldimand MSS.

DEANHOAT, NICHOLAS. In the spring of 1791 Col. Thomas Proctor, on his way from Philadelphia, to treat with the Indians at Buffalo Creek and to the westward, found Deanhoat living with the Indians at Venango. He was of a Schenectady family, but had been a prisoner and among the Senecas so long that he preferred to stay with them, although Col. Proctor offered to take

him along, clothe him well and restore him to his friends. He begged a blanket, and was left with the Indians. Proctor afterwards employed him as a messenger, and gives his name variously as "Deanhoat" or "Deamhout."

DEITZ, (*Capt.*) ———. Taken with the Brice boys. (*See BRICE, JOHN and ROBERT*). Capt. Dietz was brought with John Brice to Fort Niagara, about 1779, and sent down to Montreal, where, says the old chronicle, he died "from the pain of a broken heart and the concomitant sorrows of captivity."

"The Captive Boys of Rensselaerville," by Josiah Priest, Albany, 1838.

DEMENY [?] *family*. Name obscure in original MS. Details of captivity not known. Arrived at Montreal from Fort Niagara, Oct. 4, 1782.

Haldimand MSS.

DENNIS, JACOB. Taken prisoner by Mississaugas; sent from Detroit to Fort Niagara, thence to Montreal, November, 1781.

Haldimand MSS.

DEVEN, BARNABAS, of Van Braam's Company, Virginia Regiment, which capitulated to the French at Great Meadows, July 4, 1754. Said to have been brought to Fort Du Quesne an Indian prisoner, and sent on to Forts Venango, LeBoeuf and Niagara in the custody of the Indian who captured him; thence by lake to Montreal.

Stobo's "Memoirs."

DODGE, JOHN. Brought to Niagara a prisoner, but not by Indians. Born in Connecticut, in 1770 he was an Indian trader at Sandusky. In 1775 he served as interpreter for some of the Indians at a treaty held at Fort Pitt, meeting their commissioners from Congress, and because of his devotion to the American cause won the enmity of the British at Detroit. The Governor at that post (Henry Hamilton) offered a hundred pounds for the capture of Dodge, and sent out parties of Indians to take him. On Jan. 15, 1776, his house at Sandusky was surrounded by soldiers and savages, who made him a prisoner and marched him to Detroit. The commandant, Hamilton, put him in close confinement and threatened him with death. He was shackled, subjected to much harsh treatment, and kept in expectation of execution. In June, 1776, after a long illness, several traders entered into security for him to the amount of £2,000, and he was allowed the freedom of the post. He now learned that the British had confiscated his property, which he valued at £1,600, and had given it to the Indians. In September, Dodge applied to Gov. Hamilton for permission to "go down the country," presumably back to his old trading post, but was refused. He later engaged in trade at Detroit, and in the spring of 1777 went to Mackinac as a trader. In his narrative Dodge charges Hamilton with mean interference with his sales, and refusing to let him have powder. He was ordered to join a scouting party of

Indians, led by "Capt. Le Mote." Hamilton at this juncture being succeeded by Capt. Mountpresent (?), the order was not enforced. One of the scalping parties brought into Detroit a prisoner destined for the stake. Dodge bought him for £25, concealed him and was about shipping him off for Mackinac, when his humane plan was discovered by the British. De Jeane, his former jailer under Hamilton, again imprisoned Dodge, along with his servants and the wretch he had planned to save. Dodge was charged with carrying on correspondence with the "rebels" at Pittsburg, but satisfying the Governor with his denials and evidence, was again let go on bail. He continued to have unpleasant adventures until Jan. 25, 1778, when he once more got into serious trouble by accompanying "about two leagues" a party of traders bound for Sandusky. On his return he was seized and imprisoned and his house searched for compromising correspondence. He was made to wear "hand-bolts" and "leg-bolts," and lay in prison (his goods being confiscated again) until May 1, 1778, when, still in irons, he was put on a vessel and sent to Fort Erie, thence to Fort Niagara, there transferred and sent on to Quebec. His subsequent adventures include detention on the prison ship *Mariah*, and some months of parole in Quebec (during which he fought a duel because his adversary had said he "hoped that General Montgomery was in hell"). He finally took "leg bail" with an Indian guide, and made his way through the wilderness to Boston, reaching there Nov. 20, 1778. He reported to Gen. Gates, and was sent to Gen. Washington, to whom, and to assembled Congress, he told his story and gave information regarding British forces in Canada.

"An entertaining Narrative of the cruel and barbarous Treatment and extreme Sufferings of Mr. John Dodge during his captivity of many months among the British at Detroit," etc.; 2d edition, Danvers (Mass.), 1780. Of great rarity. Also given in *Almon's Remembrancer*, vol. vi.

DODSON, ABIGAIL, aged 14; daughter of Samuel Dodson, living near Benjamin Gilbert, on Mahoning Creek, Pa., and taken with him and his family, April 25, 1780; brought to the Niagara, and in May, 1780, at a place about eight miles from the fort, was given to a Cayuga family, who took her about 200 miles distant into their country. She remained with them for several years, not being released when the Gilberts and Pearts were; but after the restoration of peace (1784), her friends found her and took her home to Pennsylvania. Of all the Gilbert party, least is recorded of Abigail Dodson's experiences in captivity.

"A Narrative of the Captivity and Sufferings of Benjamin Gilbert and his Family," Philadelphia, 1784, and subsequent editions.

DOUGHERTY family. Names, ages and number in family not specified. Captured in Virginia, June 24, 1780. Arrived in Montreal from Fort Niagara, Oct. 4, 1782.

Haldimand MSS.

DUETT, HENRY. Taken in Virginia, with the Riddells, Porters, and others, June 24, 1780; arrived in Montreal from Fort Niagara, Oct. 4, 1782.

Haldimand MSS.

DUETT, MARY. Same record as Henry Duett. Their relationship not stated.

EDWARDS, JASPER. Taken at Fort Stanwix early in 1781, and brought to Fort Niagara, whence he was shipped April 23, 1781, for Montreal or Quebec.

Haldimand MSS.

ELDER, SARAH. Mentioned as having been taken with Jasper Edwards at Fort Stanwix in 1781. She was brought to Fort Niagara, and on April 23, 1781, was shipped down the St. Lawrence.

Haldimand MSS.

ELDER, (Mrs.) —. In May, 1780, a scalping party raiding the valley of the Juniata, in Pennsylvania, made a number of prisoners near the mouth of the Raystown Branch, among them Felix Skelly and a Mrs. Elder. They were carried westward by the Kitanning path. On the Alleghany, both were required to run the gauntlet. Mrs. Elder had kept possession of a long-handled frying-pan, and when she stepped between the lines of hostile warriors and malicious squaws, she still retained it. U. J. Jones, who records her adventures in his "History of the Juniata Valley," says: "The first savage stooped to strike her, and in doing so his scant dress exposed his person, which Mrs. Elder saw, and anticipated his intention by dealing him a blow on the exposed part which sent him sprawling upon all fours. The chiefs who were looking on laughed immoderately, and the next four or five, intimidated by her heroism, did not attempt to raise their clubs." She plied the old frying-pan lustily among the squaws, so they were glad to keep out of her reach. Her exploits won the heart of the Indian who had captured her, and on the march to Detroit he made love to her, to which she pretended to lend a willing ear, thereby escaping much harsh treatment. Young Skelly escaped and after many thrilling adventures, reached home. At Detroit Mrs. Elder became a cook in the British garrison. The length of her detention there is not known; but she was finally sent down to Fort Niagara, and thence to Montreal, where she was exchanged, reaching home by way of Philadelphia.

EMERICK, CATHERINE. Wife of David Emerick. The Emerick family, settlers near New Berlin, valley of the Buffalo, Pa., were captured by Indians, said to be a band of Munseys, in April, 1781. David Emerick and others were killed, as was Mrs. Emerick's babe. "They (the Indians) pulled down a sapling, sharpened the end of it, impaled the babe, and let it fly in the air." One of the three daughters carried away captive died from excessive bleeding at the nose, on the journey through the wilderness. Mrs. Emerick and two daughters not only survived the hardships of the trail to Fort Niagara, but all married Indians, their captors. So at least runs one record of this surprising captivity, which

adds that in after years Mrs. Emerick and her Indian husband went back to one Henry Myers' place, near Harrisburg, Pa., in order to draw some money coming to her from her grandfather's estate. Other facts indicate a different marriage. "There is on record in Sunbury, a letter of attorney, dated the 5th of January, 1805, . . . the parties to which are Archibald Thompson, of Stamford, in the district of Niagara, province of Upper Canada, and Catherine his wife, formerly the widow of David Emerick," etc. If she ever married one of the savages who had impaled her babe, she evidently made a subsequent and more natural alliance. Of the after fate of the daughters there is no record known to the present chronicler.

Linn, "Annals of Buffalo Valley, Pa."

EWING, (*Miss*) ELIZABETH. Abducted by the Indians, with Miss — McCormick, between Stone Valley and Shaver's Creek (Juniata valley), Pa., in October, 1782. They traveled "for seven days, through sleet, rain and snow, until they reached the lake," i. e., Lake Erie, at what point is not stated, but the shortness of the time indicates that it was near the east end. Here "Miss McCormick was given as a present to an old Indian woman who happened to take a fancy to her," though this probably did not take place until after the prisoners had been accounted for to the British officers at Fort Niagara. It was apparently on the Niagara that the young women were separated, Miss Ewing being sent to Montreal and soon after exchanged, reaching her home by way of Philadelphia.

Jones, "History of the Juniata Valley."

FESTER, GEORGE. Taken in September, 1781, at Cobleskill, N. Y., with John Frimire, *q. v.*

FITCH, ELEMUEL. Taken in November, 1777, near Standingstone on the Susquehanna, by Tories and Indians, with John Jenkins, Jr., and a Mr. York. Fitch and the others were brought to Niagara, then sent to Montreal and exchanged or paroled. The name in some old narratives is printed "Lemuel."

Miner's "Wyoming."

FORTINER, JOSEPH. An English trader taken by the French on the Ohio in 1751. (*See* BOURKE, THOMAS.) His three companions, Bourke, Irwin and Patton, were sent to France and imprisoned. Fortiner was with them at Fort Niagara and at Montreal, where he was sharply examined by the Marquis de la Jonquière; but we find no trace of him thereafter.

FRANKLIN, JOSEPH. "In the spring of 1779 Mr. Roswell Franklin's son Roswell, son by his first wife, and a cousin of Joseph Franklin, were taken prisoners by the Indians as they were going to the farm one morning to plow. (They lived in the block-house [at Wyoming] through the winter for protection from the Tories and Indians.) After a long and tedious journey, five days of which they were without anything to eat, except nuts and berries which they gathered in the woods, and an old bear and two cubs,

which they killed, they arrived at Fort Niagara, the boys becoming waiters to two British officers. In the next spring Roswell was taken back to the Genesee country as waiter upon another officer.

"In the spring of 1781 there was to be an exchange of prisoners. Roswell and Joseph expressed their desire to be exchanged. They with some thirty other prisoners were sent to Fort Niagara and then to Montreal. Here they were kept in jail for some months but well supplied with food. They were ferried across the St. Lawrence and up the lake of Champlain to Ticonderoga, where they met the American officer and an exchange of prisoners was made.

"Roswell, Joseph and three boys from Kentucky procured a boat and rowing all night arrived at Whitehall in the morning. They obtained passes, sold their blanket coats, procured a little money and traveled on foot to Albany. They rode part way down the Hudson river in a boat. Leaving the boat at Newburg they walked to Wyoming, Penn., with only a chance ride now and then. As they entered the house and the father caught a glimpse of their faces, he could not speak, they were returned to him as from the grave. This Roswell has a grandson living near the village of Aurora now."

The above data are kindly furnished from family records by Mrs. Frank Benedict of Brockport, N. Y.

FRANKLIN, ROSWELL. See FRANKLIN, JOSEPH. Miner ("History of Wyoming") speaks of "Rosewell" Franklin, but gives no account of the captivity of the boys.

FRANKS, CHRISTOPHER. Found a prisoner at Fort Niagara when it surrendered to Sir William Johnson, July 25, 1759.

N. Y. *Mercury*, Aug. 20, 1759.

FRANKS, MICHAEL. Brother of the above, and was found a prisoner with him at Fort Niagara when the British took it. The Franks were natives of Bucks Co., Pa., but the details of their captivity are not known.

FREELAND, MICHAEL. A youth, taken captive at Freeland's fort on Warrior Run, four miles east of present Watsonstown, Pa., July 29, 1779. Accounts of the capture, as given by survivors or their descendants, do not agree; but the Indians appear to have been led by a British officer, Capt. McDonald. Of those carried into captivity were Michael Freeland, apparently a son of Jacob Freeland, who built the fort; and Benjamin Vincent, aged ten years. Among the prisoners were several adults, who are mentioned as running the gauntlet at the Seneca village on Buffalo Creek; but their names seem to be unrecorded. Freeland and Vincent (*q. v.*) were brought to Buffalo Creek, and both appear to have been adopted by the Indians, after being accounted for at Fort Niagara. Vincent's adventures were extraordinary, and have been recorded by his nephew, Richard Peterson, who in 1900 was living in Pasadena, Cal., aged 90 years. According to this authority, Freeland lived for many years in Western New

York, just where is not specified. Thirty years after their capture, Freeland wrote to Vincent, who was then in New Jersey, that one of his neighbors in Western New York was the Indian who had killed Vincent's brother and slapped the young Benjamin in the face with the scalp. As a sequel to this letter, Vincent appears to have taken a long-deferred vengeance on the murderer.

"Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania," vol. ii; narrative of Richard Peterson (nephew of Benjamin Vincent) in Los Angeles *Herald* about 1900.

FREEMAN, ELIZABETH. Aged 17. Made captive by Indians, somewhere in Pennsylvania, in July, 1782; sent with other prisoners, from Fort Niagara to Montreal, August, 1783.

Haldimand MSS.

FREEMAN, MARY. Aged 15. Same experience as Elizabeth Freeman; presumably her sister, but no details of their captivity learned.

Haldimand MSS.

FRIMIRE, JOHN. Taken captive about Sept. 1, 1781, at Cobleskill, N. Y. His brother George was killed; but John, with George Fester, Abraham Bouck, a boy, John Nicholas, with Nicholas, Peter and William Utman, brothers, was carried over the old war-paths to Fort Niagara.

GANZALEZ, IMMANUEL. Name doubtful, but so written; described as "member of committee, late magistrate," in a return of prisoners at Fort Niagara, May, 1780.

Haldimand MSS.

GARDINER, JOHN. Taken prisoner in Exeter, Pa., near the upper end of the Wyoming valley, June 30, 1778. Presumably sent to Niagara, with other prisoners of the Wyoming fights.

GARLOCK, ADAM. Of Sharon, Schoharie Co., a fellow-prisoner of Peter Zimmer. Taken captive in July, 1782, but not long detained at Fort Niagara or elsewhere in Canada, for he reached home in December, 1782, from Boston, in company with Zimmer and William Bouck, the latter of whom had been carried captive to Fort Niagara in the summer of 1781.

There appear to have been more than one Garlock captive at Fort Niagara at this period. The Haldimand MSS. mention "the Garlocks," or "the Garlock family," as being brought from Fort Niagara to Montreal, where they arrived Oct. 4, 1782. The Mattices were in the same party of captives, which numbered over fifty.

GATCLIFFE family. Names, ages and number in family not stated. Made prisoners in Virginia, June 24, 1780. Arrived in Montreal from Fort Niagara, Oct. 4, 1782.

Haldimand MSS.

GILBERT, ABNER, aged 14, son of Benjamin Gilbert; taken with his father's family, April 25, 1780, on Mahoning Creek, Pa., and

brought with the main party to within three miles of Fort Niagara; about the end of May, 1780, he and Elizabeth Gilbert, Jr., were adopted by John Huston, one of their captors; taken to the west side of the Niagara near the falls, where he lived till the autumn, working for Huston, with occasional visits to Butlersbury (Newark—Niagara, Ont.), where his sister Elizabeth had been placed with John Secord's family. In the spring, 1781, Huston's family, taking Abner along, camped near Buffalo Creek; here Thomas Peart visited him. In July or August, 1781, he was taken to Butlersbury, where the Huston family gave him over to John Secord; with his sister Elizabeth he joined four others of the captives at Fort Niagara, and sailed for Montreal; thence home in August, 1782.

Gilbert narrative as cited under "DODSON, ABIGAIL."

GILBERT, BENJAMIN. Quaker, aged 69 years, taken at his home on Mahoning Creek, a few miles south of the present town of Mauch Chunk, Pa., April 25, 1780, by a band of Senecas led by Rowland Monteur. By way of the Susquehanna, Seneca Lake, Kanadesaga, Little Beardstown on the Genesee, and the Tonawanda trail, brought to Fort Niagara, where he was surrendered to Col. Guy Johnson May 25th, just one month after being taken. Sailed from Fort Niagara June 4th, for Montreal; died on the St. Lawrence June 8th, and was buried the next day at Coteau du Lac.

GILBERT, BENJAMIN, Jr., aged 11, a son of John Gilbert of Philadelphia, nephew of Benjamin Gilbert, Sr., in whose family he was visiting when they were taken, April 25, 1780. Experiences the same as those of his cousin Rebecca Gilbert, with whom he was brought to Buffalo Creek, and with whom he was released in June, 1782, they being the last of the Gilbert captives to be set free. Joined the reunited family in Montreal, June 11, 1782, reaching home with the rest, August, 1782.

GILBERT, ELIZABETH, Sr., second wife of Benjamin, aged 55 years. Same experience as her husband. After his death, June 8, 1780, she continued the journey to Montreal, with Jesse Gilbert and his wife Sarah; other members of the family subsequently joined them. Elizabeth found service as a household servant, and as a nurse, finally being allowed to leave Montreal, Aug. 22, 1782, returning by way of Lake Champlain, Castleton, Vt., and the Hudson valley, etc., to her family at Byberry, near Philadelphia, where she arrived Aug. 27, 1782.

GILBERT, ELIZABETH, Jr., aged 12. Taken with her father's family, April 25, 1780. Near Niagara, was adopted by John Huston; taken to Butlersbury (Niagara, Ont.), where she was given over to the family of the Englishman, John Secord, with whom she lived until Abner's release, about August, 1781, when they joined other captives at the fort and sailed for Montreal, middle of August, 1781, with Joseph Gilbert, Benjamin and Elizabeth Peart and their child; ultimately reaching home, August, 1782. Of all the Gilbert captives the little Elizabeth was most favored

in captivity, her sojourn with the Secords saving her from the hardships of Indian life.

GILBERT, JESSE, son of Benjamin, aged 19. Same experience as his parents up to the arrival at Fort Niagara, May 25, 1780. There he obtained employment; went with British officers to a neighboring Indian town to try to procure release for his wife Sarah, detained by them, but without success; a few days later she was released and joined him at the fort. Jesse was urged by Col. Guy Johnson to enter the King's service, but refused; was sent to Montreal with his parents; there Jesse worked nine months for Thomas Buzby; returned to Pennsylvania with his mother and other members of the family, August, 1782.

GILBERT, JOSEPH, son of Benjamin, aged 41. Same experience as his father after being taken up to May 4, 1780, when the captives were separated into two parties. Joseph Gilbert and Thomas Peart were taken up the Chemung (Cayuga Branch) and Conhocton and across to the Genesee at Nunda; then to Caracadera, apparently north of present Canadea; was adopted by the Senecas and invited to take a wife, but declined; lived in melancholy captivity among them for three months; journeyed to Fort Niagara with many Indians; where he learned of his father's death, and lay sick for several days at Col. Guy Johnson's. He stayed at Fort Niagara about four weeks, then the Indians took him back to Caracadera; during the ensuing winter was allowed to visit Thomas Peart at Nunda, seven miles distant; was taken back and worked for the Indians as well as his feeble health and lameness would permit; until midsummer, 1781, when a British officer from Fort Niagara visited him, and failing to secure his release, advised him to try to escape. He set out by night, when most of the men had gone hunting, and walked to Fort Niagara, about 130 miles, being nearly dead of hunger and exhaustion on arrival. He soon after sailed for Montreal, ultimately returning home with his mother and the others.

GILBERT, REBECCA. Aged 16, daughter of Benjamin. Taken with the rest of the family April 25, 1780, and brought with the main party to the Niagara. At Five Mile Meadows she and her cousin Benjamin Gilbert, Jr., were allotted to Rowland Monteur's wife, a daughter of the Old King, Sayenqueraghta. They were taken to the Landing (Lewiston), then to Fort Schlosser, thence by boat to Fort Erie, thence four miles up Buffalo Creek. Here Rebecca was detained, doing such work as her slight strength would permit, with an occasional visit to Fort Erie and Fort Niagara, until June 3, 1782, when she and the boy Benjamin—they being the last of the Gilberts to be released—and Thomas Peart sailed for Montreal. Eight days later they joined their relatives, returning to Pennsylvania with them, August, 1782.

GILBERT, SARAH, aged 19, wife of Jesse. Same experience as the main Gilbert party, up to the point of separation, May 4th. She and Benjamin Gilbert, Jr., were again separated from Joseph Gilbert and Thomas Peart, and taken to Kanadesaga, where they met the main party, May 14, 1780. They continued together to

Rowland Monteur's, near present Lewiston, where she was separated from her husband, he being taken to Fort Niagara, while she was carried away by Indian women for adoption; she was detained in their town near the fort for a few days, then allowed to go to the British. With her husband and his parents, she sailed for Montreal June 4, 1780. In Montreal she gave birth to a child; and returned to Pennsylvania with the others, in August, 1782.

GIRTY, SIMON. This famous son of a notorious family, taken captive by Delawares and Shawanese in 1756, with others of the Girty family, was handed over to the Senecas, and may very likely have been taken by them to Fort Niagara. He lived among the Senecas for a considerable time. In 1786 he was at Niagara in attendance at a treaty between the Six Nations, the Shawanese and Wyandots, and the British.

GREY, (Mrs.) JOHN. With her daughter, three years old, George Woods, Mrs. Francis Innis and three children, and others, she was made captive by Indians in the Tuscarora valley, near present Carlisle, Pa., in 1756. The prisoners were carried across the Alleghany to the old Indian town of Kitanning, thence to Fort Duquesne, where they were delivered over to the French. It is recorded that Woods took his captivity so lightly that on the way to that fort he proposed marriage to Mrs. Grey, whose husband had escaped the massacre at Bigham's Fort in the Tuscarora valley, when his wife was captured. Mrs. Grey and child were taken by Indians from Fort Duquesne to Canada, the invariable route being to Fort Niagara and thence eastward. Mrs. Grey was detained in captivity, at what point is not stated, for about a year; when, by the connivance of some traders, she escaped and reached home in safety. The child remained with the Indians.

Jones, "History of the Juniata Valley."

GUTHRIE, (Adft.) ———. Taken on the Ohio, Aug. 24, 1781. From Fort Niagara sent to Montreal, November, 1781.

HAGER, HENRY. An old man of 80 years, when he was taken by Brant in the great Schoharie raid of Aug. 9, 1780. He was brought with the Vroomans (*q. v.*) along the great southwestern trail—the upper Schoharie valley, the Susquehanna and Genesee valleys—to Fort Niagara. He was harshly treated all the way, because he was known as a prominent Whig; his son, Capt. Hager, and several grandsons, were in the "rebel" army. The Indians repeatedly struck the old man on the head with the flat side of their tomahawks. Despite his years and their abuse, he survived the journey to Niagara. With many others, he was sent down Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence, in batteaux. They reached Montreal about December 1st; were confined during the winter at "an old French post, called South Rakela" [?], nine miles below Montreal; in the summer of 1781 Hager was exchanged, with other Schoharie prisoners, sent by vessel to the

head of Lake Champlain, whence he made his way home, on foot via Saratoga, after an absence of eighteen months.

Simms, "Schoharie County."

HAINES, HENRY. Resident in the Schoharie valley. Taken captive subsequent to October, 1780. Details of captivity not learned, but apparently to be included among the Niagara captives.

HALL, (*Lieut.*) ———. Made prisoner on the Ohio, Aug. 24, 1781. Brought to Fort Niagara and shipped on with thirty others to Montreal, arriving there Nov. 28, 1781.

Haldimand MSS.

HARMETSEN, FREDRYCH. Taken by the French on Lake Huron, with Maj. Patrick McGregory and Johannes Rooseboom (*q. v.*) and brought to Niagara, June, 1687. After being detained at Cata-raqui, Montreal and Quebec, Fredrych and Nanning Harmetsen and Dyrick van der Hyder made their escape, reaching Albany in five days from Quebec.

N. Y. Col. Docs.

HARMETSEN, NANNING. Shared the experiences of Fredrych Harmetsen.

HARPER, (*Capt.*) ALEXANDER. Was in command of a small company of men, about thirty miles from the Schoharie fort, April 7, 1780, when they were surrounded by forty-three Indians led by Joseph Brant, and seven Tories. Harper saved himself from the tomahawk by telling Brant there were 300 soldiers lately arrived at the fort, a fiction which probably saved his life and that of the fourteen men with him, since it induced Brant to start with his prisoners for Niagara. The next morning he was closely questioned again, and again deceived the chief. Corn was had from a Tory, one Samuel Clockstone; and the expedition passed down the Delaware to Cook House (near Deposit, N. Y.), on the way taking one Brown and his two grandsons, the old man soon being killed and scalped; they crossed to the Susquehanna, and went up the Chemung. Near Tioga Point they encountered two Indians, John Mohawk and Chief English, the only survivors of the war party of eleven which had been killed as they slept, a few nights previous, by their prisoners Moses Van Campen and Pence. This news made a critical time for Harper and his fellow prisoners, but they were spared and carried on westward. At New Town (Elmira) they found the remains of a horse which wolves had partly devoured, and there they feasted. Past Painted Post and over the high land north of Sullivan's route, between the Chemung and the lakes, they crossed to the Genesee, where they all escaped starvation a second time by killing and eating a horse. From the Genesee flats a runner was sent to Niagara with word of their approach, and by Brant's orders many of the warriors encamped there were drawn away to Nine Mile Landing, under impression that they would meet him with the prisoners there. This was done out of regard for Capt. Harper, who had to run the gauntlet at Niagara, but for whom Brant wished to make the ordeal as light as pos-

sible, for Harper was the uncle of Jane Moore, a prisoner from Cherry Valley, who at Fort Niagara had been courted and married by Capt. Powell of the British army; and who with his wife, welcomed Harper, once he was safe in the fort. From Niagara Capt. Harper and many other captives were sent to Carleton Island, down the river to the Cedars, and after many removes to the prison at Chambly; he appears to have been kept there some two years, then transferred to Quebec, sent by ship to Boston, thence returning home.

There are numerous accounts of Capt. Harper's captivity. See Campbell's "Annals of Tryon County," N. Y., 1831; Simms' "History of Schoharie County, and Border Wars of New York," Albany, 1845; and various later prints. Simms speaks of Harper as "lieutenant" at this time. He should not be confused with Col. John Harper.

HARRIS, MARY. One of several children carried away captive from Deerfield, Mass., 1703. She was carried to the country south of Lake Erie, by what route is not known. In 1750 the traders Christopher Gist and George Croghan, with the interpreter Andrew Monteur, found her living on a tributary of the Muskingum, which has ever since been called in her memory, White Woman's Creek. She had an Indian husband and a family of half-breeds. "She still remembers," says Gist, "that they used to be very religious in New England, and wonders how white men can be so wicked as she has seen them in these woods." Six years later Robert Eastburn, a prisoner in the hands of the French, found her at "Cohnewago" (Caughnawaga), near Montreal; she told him of her captivity, "and was kind." The known conditions of the time make it reasonably certain that she traveled from White Woman's Creek to Montreal by way of the Niagara. She was probably at Fort Niagara and on our river more than once, with her adopted people. She had a son who was a captain in the French interest.

Gist, quoted by Parkman; Robert Eastburn's Narrative.

HARVEY, ———. See BIDLACK, JAS.

HAVERSTRAW, (Miss) ———. Taken captive with another Dutch girl named Lizzie ———, probably in the Mohawk valley, place and time not known. They were carried to Fort Niagara by a band of Senecas with whom was the Welsh boy, David Price (*q. v.*), whose adventures in captivity have been recorded by D. D. Babcock, formerly of Welland, Ont.

HAWKINS, ———. Taken by Brant near Fort Stanwix, March 2, 1781, with David Ogden, Samuel Betts and others, and brought to Fort Niagara, where he ran the gauntlet. See OGDEN, DAVID, and BETTS, (*Corporal*) SAMUEL. As their party drew near Fort Niagara, Ogden and Hawkins, to escape the beating of Indians along the road, fled together toward the fort, then some three miles distant. In passing a Seneca camp near the Five Mile bridge, two Indians took after the boys, but after a hard run showed them that they were friendly, and went on with them.

There is no trace of Hawkins after he reached the fort; he was probably shipped down to Montreal.

Priest's "True Narrative of the capture of David Ogden," Lansingburgh, 1840; Severance's "Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier."

HECKEWELDER, MARY. Daughter of Rev. John Heckewelder, a famous Moravian missionary. She was born April 16, 1781, in Salem, one of the Moravian Indian towns on the Muskingum, and was the first white child born in what is now the State of Ohio. In September, 1781, several of the missionaries, her mother and herself were taken prisoners by the Hurons, and carried to Upper Sandusky, the infant Mary being "carried by an Indian woman wrapped in a blanket on her back." They nearly starved, in the Indian huts during the winter. In the spring the English commanded the Indians to bring their prisoners to Detroit, which they reached about the middle of April. The Indian converts built a new settlement about thirty miles from Detroit, on the Huron River, which was called New Gnadenhutzen. Here Mary lived until 1785 when an aged missionary couple took her to be educated at Bethlehem. They were at Fort Niagara about June 1st, traveling thence by way of Lake Ontario to Oswego, the Mohawk and Hudson rivers.

Mary Heckewelder's own narrative in the *American Pioneer* (Cincinnati), 1843.

HEMPFERMAN, REBECCA. Taken as a child during the Revolution; adopted and reared by the Senecas; at the Buffalo Creek mission, Dec. 4, 1820, was married to Thomas Armstrong, white man, who like herself had been taken captive in childhood and reared among the Senecas.

Buf. Hist. Soc. Pubs., vol. vi.

HENDRY, JOHN. Taken captive at Harpersfield, N. Y., April 8, 1780, when his father Thomas Hendry and elder brother James, were tomahawked and scalped. Was brought to Fort Niagara with Capt. Alexander Harper and a numerous party of captives. According to an old tombstone in Harpersfield burying-ground, he died a prisoner in Quebec.

HENRY, ALEXANDER. Born in New Jersey, August, 1739. Engaged in the fur trade, 1760; went by way of the Ottawa, from Montreal to Mackinac, 1761; was taken prisoner by the Chippewas at the massacre at Fort Michilimackinac, June 4, 1763, and carried to the Beaver Islands, Lake Michigan; was rescued by Ottawas, restored to the Chippewas, and had many adventures. In June, 1764, he came from the Sault Sainte Marie with sixteen Indians, to Fort Niagara, to attend a great council called by Sir William Johnson. At Niagara, June 22d, Henry found Gen. Bradstreet with his army of 3,000 men, destined for Detroit. He was given command of a corps of 96 Indians, but on July 10th, when the army marched for Fort Schlosser, only ten of the red men obeyed orders, and these deserted the next day. Henry shared the adven-

tures of the Detroit campaign, after it returning to his trading interests at Mackinac.

"Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories, between the years 1760 and 1776," etc., by Alexander Henry, New York, 1809; new ed., Toronto, 1901. *See also* Parkman's "Conspiracy of Pontiac."

HENRY, WILLIAM. A prisoner among the Seneca Indians, 1755-1762 or '63, probably in Western New York, though no details of his captivity are known. In 1766 a book of 160 pages was published in Boston entitled: "Account of the Captivity of William Henry in 1755, and of his residence among the Senneka Indians six years and seven months, till he made his escape from them." This is the work of which James Bain says, in his introduction to the 1901 edition of Alexander Henry's "Travels and Adventures": "Of this book no copy seems to be known. It cannot be traced in the catalogues of any of the great American or English libraries, and is not to be found in the bibliographies of Sabin, Rich, Field or Pilling. Of William Henry we only know that he was a trader with the Ohio Indians, and was made prisoner by the Senecas, and in the absence of his book have no means of tracing him." The chief if not the sole source of information is extracts from his book given in the *London Chronicle* of June 23 and 25, 1768. In these extracts are allusions to the Mohawks, Onondagas, Oneidas, Cayugas and Senecas, but nothing which fixes the place of Henry's abode. The discovery of a copy of his book might add a narrative of high importance to the chronicles of our region. Mr. Bain concludes plausibly that William Henry was a near relative, perhaps uncle, of Alexander Henry, whose adventures as trader and prisoner are well known.

HENRY, THOMAS (*afterwards major*). Taken by Brant on the Schoharie, April 7, 1780, in Capt. Alexander Harper's party. Same experiences, so far as known, as the rest of that company. A brother of James Henry, also a prisoner at Fort Niagara. *See* HARPER, ALEXANDER, and PATCHIN, FREEGIFT.

HENRY, JAMES. Taken by Brant on the Schoharie, April 7, 1780. In Capt. Alexander Harper's party. Same experiences as the rest of the party.

HEYSHAM, MOLLY. Made captive "at the Blue Mountains," probably in Virginia, about 1755. She was found at Fort Niagara, with numerous other prisoners, when it surrendered to the British, July 25, 1759, and was no doubt sent to New York, by way of Oswego, with the other rescued prisoners of the French and the surrendered garrison, which included a number of French women and children.

HINE, PHILIP. Taken prisoner at Wawarsink, N. Y., Aug. 12, 1781, with Silas Bouck, and apparently shared his adventures as far as Fort Niagara. Bouck was sent from there to Montreal as prisoner, but Hine volunteered to serve in the British army. He soon returned home and was said to have deserted from the British. *See* BOUCK, SILAS.

HINTON, WILLIAM. Taken in 1781 with three companions on the Ohio; sent from Fort Niagara April 23, 1781, to Quebec.
Haldimand MSS.

HOFFMAN, ———. A Schoharie-valley German, captured with the Vroomans and others, Aug. 9, 1780, and brought to Fort Niagara. See VROOMAN, EPHRAIM.

HOSKINS, EDWARD. Captured "on the borders of New England" about 1749, and remained a captive of the French or the Indians for some ten years. When the British captured Fort Niagara, July 25, 1759, Hoskins was found confined there among other prisoners. His captivity is the longest of which we find mention in connection with Fort Niagara—excepting of course, the many cases of those who were adopted and remained permanently with the Indians, which could not be regarded as continuous captivity.
N. Y. *Mercury*, Aug. 20, 1759.

HOUSER, SMITH. Captive among the Senecas with Horatio Jones.
See *Buf. Hist. Soc. Pubs.*, vol. vi, pp. 450-455.

HUNT, ELISHA. Captive among the Senecas with Horatio Jones, and probably brought to Niagara with Houser and others in 1782.
See "Life of Horatio Jones," *Buf. Hist. Soc. Pubs.*, vol. vi.

HUNTER, (*Ensign*) ———. Taken on the Ohio, Aug. 24, 1781. From Fort Niagara sent to Montreal, Nov. 1781.
Haldimand MSS.

HYNES, CATHERINE. Oldest daughter of William Hynds (*q. v.*); shared his captivity at Fort Niagara in 1780.

HYNDS, ELIZABETH. Third daughter of William Hynds. Captive with the family at Fort Niagara in 1780; died at Buck's Island.

HYNDS, HENRY. Oldest son of William Hynds, and shared his captivity in 1780, returning home with his father and sister Catharine in 1783. It was from Henry that the story of their captivity was learned.

HYNDS, LANA. Child of William Hynds. Died in captivity at Montreal, 1780 or '81.

HYNDS, MARY. Brought to Fort Niagara with her father's family, 1780; adopted by an Indian family and lived with them until 1785 or '86, finally returning home.

HYNDS, WILLIAM, *and family*. His wife, daughters Catharine, Mary, Elizabeth, Lana, sons Henry and William, and an infant, were surprised at their home in New Dorlach, on July 5, 1780, as they sat at dinner, by a party of seven Indians led by a white man, Capt. Adam Cryser. The house was isolated, with no friendly neighbors near enough to render aid, or even to know of the capture. Hynds was bound, his son Henry made to catch their four horses; Mrs. Hynds and youngest children were seated on one, the other three were laden with plunder from the house. A forced march was made to the westward. The larger children

tramped barefoot all the way. The Indians killed a deer, several muskrats, otters and other small game, which were eaten with ashes in lieu of salt. In passing through Indian villages, the usual abuse was bestowed upon them; on one occasion William Hynds was knocked down by a blow on the head with a bottle. At Fort Niagara most of the family became ill with fever and ague, of which William the son died. Mary, about 14 years old, was adopted by an Indian family, and detained in Canada for three years. In the fall of 1780 the rest of the family were sent down Lake Ontario to Bucks Island, where Elizabeth died. The family was later sent on to Montreal, where Lana, the youngest child but one, died. Soon after, Mrs. Hynds and her infant died. After two and a half years of captivity, William Hynds, his son Henry and daughter Catharine, with nearly 300 other prisoners, returned home by the usual Champlain and Hudson-river route.

Henry Hynds in 1837 related the facts of this captivity to Jephtha R. Simms, who preserved them in his "History of Schoharie County and Border Wars of New York," Albany, 1845.

HYNDS, WILLIAM, Jr. Brought to Niagara captive with his father's family, and died there in the summer of 1780.

HYNDS, (Mrs.) WILLIAM. Shared her husband's captivity at Fort Niagara; buried four children, and "with constitution undermined by the accumulating load of her mental and bodily sufferings," died at Montreal, late in 1780.

INNIS, FRANCIS, *wife and children*. Made prisoners by the Indians in the Tuscarora valley, Pa., 1756, with Mrs. John Grey (*q. v*) and others. They were carried to Fort Duquesne, then to Canada, apparently by way of Fort Niagara. Innis remained among the Indians until the treaty of 1764. His wife and two children escaped, a third child being put to death by the Indians.

Jones, "History of the Juniata Valley." "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania."

IRWIN, LUKE. Shared the misfortunes of Thomas Bourke (*q. v*). Irwin appears to have been the leader of the band of English traders who fell into the hands of the French near Sandusky, and were brought to Fort Niagara in 1751.

JEMISON, MARY. Born on shipboard, 1742 or '43; taken prisoner in the spring of 1755, on her father's farm on Marsh Creek, Pa.; carried by Shawanese down the Ohio; was adopted, married and lived at various places; came to Little Beard's Town (Cuyler-ville) in the Genesee valley, in 1759; the next year John Van Sice offered to take her to Fort Niagara, that she might be set free, but Mary refused, and hid for three days; other prisoners were taken to the fort at this time and handed over to the British, but Mary was allowed to stay. She re-married, her first husband being dead. She resided on the Genesee until 1831, when she removed to the Buffalo Creek Reservation (Buffalo), where she died in September, 1833. In 1874 her remains were taken from Buffalo to Glen Iris, the grounds of the Hon. Wm. P. Letchworth near Portage, N. Y. As she was identified with the Indians

friendly to the British throughout the Revolution she was no doubt more than once at Fort Niagara, though she did not flee there at the time of Sullivan's raid. She went with the Indian women and children to Stony Creek (which empties into the Tonawanda at Varysburg, Wyoming County), and after the army had withdrawn hired out to husk corn for negroes at Gardeau Flats, where she continued to live, a valuable tract there being deeded to her by the Six Nations.

"A Narrative of the Life of Mary Jemison," by James E. Seaver, Canandaigua, 1824, and subsequent eds. Buf. Hist. Soc. Pubs., vol. vii.

JENKINS, (Lieut.) JOHN. Was in command of a scouting party which in the summer of 1777 advanced from the Wyoming valley up the Susquehanna to Wyalusing, where he, Lemuel (or "Elemuel") Fitch, a Mr. Yorke and an old man named Fitzgerald, were taken prisoners by Tories and Indians. Fitzgerald was subsequently released, the others taken to Canada by way of Fort Niagara. Miner's "History of Wyoming" says of Jenkins' captivity: "As Lieut. Jenkins was himself an active officer, and the son of one of the most distinguished men in Wyoming, the father having several times been chosen Member of Assembly, a proposal was made and accepted to exchange him for an Indian chief, then a prisoner in Albany. Under an Indian escort he was sent to that city, and when they arrived, it was found that the chief had recently died of the small-pox. The rage of the young Indians, who had escorted him, could scarcely be restrained. They would have tomahawked Lieut. Jenkins on the spot, had they not been forcibly prevented. They demanded that he should return with them. To have done so, would have been exposing him to certain death, probably lingering torture. But he was released, and instantly repaired to his post of duty." Lieut. Jenkins and his companions were the first prisoners taken from Wyoming.

JENKINS, JOHN, Jr. A collector of taxes, was captured by a band of British or Tories, and Indians, near Standingstone on the Susquehanna, in November, 1777, with Elemuel Fitch and a Mr. York (or Yorke). They were brought to Niagara, and sent to Montreal; Jenkins being there exchanged or paroled, returning home in June, 1778.

JOHNSTON, CHARLES, of Botetourt County, Va., made prisoner by the Indians on the Ohio, near the junction of the Scioto, March 20, 1790, the boat in which he was traveling being decoyed ashore by white men, who cried for rescue from the Indians—a common device. The captors included Shawanese, Delawares, Wyandots and Cherokees. One of his companions, William Flinn, was subsequently burned at the stake. After traveling in captivity for a time Johnston was given to a Mingo, carried to the Indian town at Upper Sandusky, where on April 28, 1790, the prisoner's twenty-first birthday, he was bought of the Indians by Francis Duchouquet, a Canadian trader, who paid 600 silver brooches for him, worth about \$100. After some weeks he was taken to

Detroit, and on June 22, 1790, Major Patrick Murray of the 60th Regiment, commanding at Detroit, turned him over to Capt. Cowan of the sloop *Felicity*, bound for Fort Erie, whence he proceeded to Fort Schlosser. With the commandant of that post he visited Niagara Falls, then walked to Fort Niagara, where he was, he says, rudely received by Col. John Rodolphus Harris, the British commandant. Capt. Lethbridge of the garrison befriended him. After some days, with Mrs. Forsyth and her son of Detroit, he set out in an open boat for Oswego, a journey of six days; whence by way of Oneida Lake and the Mohawk route, he reached his home in Virginia.

"A Narrative of the incidents attending the capture, detention and ransom of Charles Johnston," etc., New York, 1827. Also told, with many errors, in the Duc de Liancourt's "Travels."

JONCAIRE, LOUIS THOMAS (*Sieur de Chabert*). A captive of the Indians in his youth, he was in later years chiefly instrumental in bringing about the building of Fort Niagara, of which he was for a time commandant, and with the early history of which no man was more closely connected. He died at Fort Niagara in 1739.

JONCAIRE, PHILIPPE THOMAS (*Sieur de Chabert*). In the regiment of Guienne, prisoner of war at Fort Niagara, July 25, 1759, with Pouchot, *q. v.*

JONCAIRE, DANIEL (*Sieur de Chabert et Clausonne*). Captain, prisoner of war at Fort Niagara, July 25, 1759, with Pouchot, *q. v.*

JONES, HORATIO. Born November, 1763; taken prisoner, June 3, 1781, by a British-Indian expedition near Hart's Log on the Juniata; ran the gauntlet at Caneadea; was adopted by the Senecas; went to Fort Niagara with his adoptive Seneca family in the summer of 1781, and there met Jasper Parrish; was at Fort Niagara again in 1782, to get traders' goods; lived with the Senecas on the Genesee, 1781-December, 1784, when he was liberated at Fort Stanwix. He settled first on Seneca Lake, then on the Genesee near present Geneseo; he served as interpreter at many important councils and treaties, and was U. S. interpreter for many years. He died in 1836, and is buried at Geneseo.

"The Life of Horatio Jones," by George H. Harris and Frank H. Severance; vol. vi., *Bu. Hist. Soc. Pubs.*

KEITH, THOMAS. With his young bride, came from Europe in 1794, landing at Baltimore; settled at Newport, R. I., then traveled up the Mohawk, prospecting; visited "Ranogahara" (?Canojoharie), Geneva, "Chenessee" river, Niagara Falls; visited Fort Niagara, and briefly describes the falls, etc. In August, 1795, traveling with wife and child down the Ohio, they were decoyed ashore by Indians and held prisoners, finally escaping through the arrival of another party which killed some of the Indians and made the rest run away. Keith returned to New England, where he was regarded as a spy; subsequently sailed to England and settled in Ireland. The account of his American adventures reads like fiction, and poor fiction at that; it may have some foundation in fact, but is without value to the student.

"Struggles of Capt. Thomas Keith in America, including the manner in which he, his wife and child, were decoyed by the Indians; their temporary Captivity, and Happy Deliverance," etc., London, 1808.

KELLER, RUDOLF. A memorable raid in the Mohawk valley was that of October 24th and succeeding days, 1781. A party stated by Simms in his "History of Schoharie County" to consist of nearly 700 British and royalist troops under Maj. Ross and Maj. Walter Butler, passed through many of the Mohawk river settlements, burning, killing and taking captives. Among the latter were Rudolf Keller, Jacob Tanner, Frederick Utman and Michael Stowits of Curry Town; John Wood of Stone Ridge; Evert Van Epps, who lived at "Van Epps' Swamp," where the present village of Fultonville stands; and Capt. Zielie, taken near Johnson Hall. Of many others taken in this raid, all of the women were liberated, some escaped and some were killed. The above-named, and probably many others whose names have not been learned, were brought captive to Fort Niagara. It was in this affair that Walter Butler was killed. The return of Maj. Ross and his party was an experience of great hardship. They were seventeen days in reaching Genesee valley towns, where some of the prisoners wintered, being taken to Fort Niagara in March, 1782. On arriving at Niagara Keller was sold, "and one Countryman, a native of the Mohawk valley, then an officer in the British service, was his purchaser." In June, 1782, Keller was sent to Rebel Island, near Montreal; in November, to Halifax; thence to Boston, where he was exchanged. Without money, he walked from Boston to his old home on the Mohawk, reaching his family in Minden, near Fort Plain, whither they had removed in his absence, Dec. 24, 1782.

KERKER, JACOB. Shared the experiences of Lieut. Jacob Borst, *q. v.* While Borst was dying of consumption at Fort Niagara, Kerker, who was confined with him, acted as his nurse. Kerker's subsequent adventures are not known. It is not unlikely that he was sent down the St. Lawrence with his fellow captive, William Kneiskern, *q. v.*

KESSIN (?), MENASSIAH. Name obscurely written in original. Was a private soldier, taken captive with Quartermaster Wallace and six others at the Falls of the Ohio (near present Louisville), Sept. 14, 1781. He had previously been captured at Fort Stanwix, in 1777. Was sent to Fort Niagara, and forwarded to Montreal, reaching there Nov. 28, 1781.

Haldimand MSS.

KILGORE, RALPH. Some time in 1750, Ralph Kilgore and Morris Turner, two men in the employ of John Fraser, a Lancaster County, Pa., trader, who had bought more skins from Miami Indians than their horses could carry, were returning from Logstown for a second load, when seven Indians came into their camp one evening a little after sunset. They asked for victuals, and when meat was given them, they dressed and ate it in a

friendly manner. After their appetites were satisfied they commenced examining the traders' guns, apparently from curiosity; one picked up a tomahawk, and others asked for knives to cut their tobacco. Immediately the two traders were seized and securely tied. The Indians then hurried their prisoners off toward Detroit, which at that time contained about 150 houses, securely stockaded. The prisoners were delivered to the commander, and the Indians received a 10-gallon keg of brandy and 100 pounds of tobacco as a reward. The commander placed these two traders with a farmer living about a mile from the town. Here they were compelled to hoe corn and reap wheat. The Indians frequently came to see them, and acted in a very insolent manner, taunting them and calling them dogs, and declaring that they were going down to the Wabash after more traders. The prisoners were detained three months at this farmer's house, when the commander at the fort was changed and they were sent to Canada. At Fort Niagara they met the chief French interpreter, Joncaire. He was taking a large present to the Indians in Ohio. The prisoners saw the goods spread out on the river bank, and estimated them to be worth £1,500. The prisoners also learned that a reward of £1,000 had been offered for the scalps of George Croghan and James Lowery, whom they considered the most influential and injurious among the Pennsylvania traders. While following the shores of Lake Ontario, the prisoners made their escape.

The depositions of Kilgore and Turner are summarized in Walton's "Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Colonial Pennsylvania," pp. 241-242.

KNEISKERN, WILLIAM. Taken captive at Sharon in the Schoharie valley in October, 1781, with Lieut. Jacob Borst, *q. v.* Borst died of consumption at Fort Niagara. Kneiskern was sent to an island—probably Buck's Island—in the St. Lawrence, from which he one night escaped, with several other prisoners. "They dug out beneath the pickets which enclosed the fort where they were confined, made a raft on which they floated down the river; and one of the party, from fear the raft might not be sufficient to carry them in safety, swam eight or nine miles with but little support, his clothes being upon it, to where they effected a landing on the American shore. After incredible hardships in the forest, living on birch bark, roots, etc., they arrived in safety among friends, where their wants were supplied, and they reached their homes."

Simms, "Schoharie County."

LAFARGE, ROBERT. Aged 65. Taken prisoner in Pennsylvania in 1777; sent from Fort Niagara to Montreal in August, 1783.

Haldimand MSS.

LAFFERTY, DANIEL. Of Monteur's company; at battle of Great Meadows, July 4, 1754, taken by Indians friendly to the French; sent by way of Fort Niagara to Canada.

Stobo's "Memoirs."

LAMB, WILLIAM. Made captive near Harpersfield, N. Y., April 8, 1780. He appears to have shared the fortunes of Capt. Alexander Harper and a large party of prisoners, who were brought through to Fort Niagara at this time.

Jay Gould's "History of Delaware County."

LAMB, ———. Son of the above, taken captive with him. So far as known, shared his experiences.

L'ARMINAC, *Le Chevalier de*, Lieutenant of the Marine (Fr.), prisoner of war at Fort Niagara, July 25, 1759, with Pouchot, *q. v.*

LESTER, ELIZABETH STONE. The following narrative is furnished to the present compiler by Mrs. Frank Benedict of Brockport, N. Y., a great-granddaughter of the captive:

"Elizabeth Stone was born at Litchfield, Conn., in 1743. She married a Mr. Lester and they moved to Wyoming, Pennsylvania, about 1770. They lived through the massacre of Wyoming, but scarcely a month had passed when a band of Indians made an attack upon their home, killing Mr. Lester and carrying off Mrs. Lester and her three children. The eldest, a boy four years old, they killed because he cried for his mother; and little Hannah, nearly three, was taken to Canada and adopted by an old Indian queen, with whom she lived nine years. There was also a little baby.

"The Indians with their prisoners came north into the lake country or Genesee valley, where they had corn and other grains planted. Mrs. Lester said they tried to teach her to hoe corn, but she was determined not to do such work and always cut it off or hoed it up, and at last they gave up trying to teach her.

"She being skillful with her needle, they kept her busy with sewing. In some way they had gotten a coat which was trimmed with white cotton fringe and they admired it very much. Mrs. Lester made a coat after this pattern, making the fringe by raveling out some factory. The Indians were so pleased with this that they thought her almost a wonder.

"How long Mrs. Lester was with the Indians I do not know, but the Indians hearing that a detachment of the American army were in pursuit of them, left their camping-ground and hurried away to Canada.

"Mrs. Lester and baby both being sick, they were left behind. She overheard the Indians say, 'Let us kill her,' but an old squaw said, 'No, leave her in the woods and if she lives she lives and if she dies she dies.'

"As soon as the Indians were out of sight and well on their journey, Mrs. Lester turned her face towards the approaching army, following the trail back as nearly as she could remember. Sleeping in the woods and on the bank of the river, living upon berries and roots, she hurried along, meeting the army the third day. As she wore an Indian blanket they, thinking her a squaw, concluded to shoot her, but she made gestures to them, and they waited to see what she wanted. She told them her story and one of the soldiers knew of the family and so the men believed what she told them.

"The Indians were so far in advance that there was no hope of overtaking them, so the army turned back, taking Mrs. Lester and baby with them. They gave her a horse to ride, but the motion making the baby worse, one of the soldiers walked by the side of the horse carrying the little one in his arms all day. The next day the baby died. The poor mother's heart was torn with grief as she thought of leaving the little body in the woods to be eaten by wild animals, but the soldiers stopped, unasked, and peeling the bark from a birch tree they laid the little dead baby in it and buried it in the wilderness. This thoughtful kindness was a great comfort to the mother.

"On reaching Wyoming Mrs. Lester had nothing to keep her there—home, husband and children being gone; so alone and on horseback she returned to Litchfield, Conn. The next year she came back to Wyoming, hoping to hear something of her little Hannah from returning prisoners. In 1782 Mrs. Lester married Mr. Roswell Franklin, brother of Colonel John Franklin. Mr. Roswell Franklin's first wife was taken prisoner and killed by the Indians in 1781. After the close of the war they heard that there were some white children prisoners in Canada. Mr. and Mrs. Franklin went to Niagara feeling sure that a little girl who had been adopted by an old Indian queen was Mrs. Franklin's little Hannah. The British officer knowing if Mr. and Mrs. Franklin went for the child themselves that she would be hidden away, kept them at the fort and sent for the 'queen' to come down. She came, and he told her she would be obliged to give up the child, and that she could take anything in the store that she wished. She was kept there, while Mr. Franklin and some other men went for Hannah.

"They found her sick, very sick, for the news had preceded them. Finding that there was no use of arguing with the Indians, Mr. Franklin told them that he should 'take the child dead or alive to her mother.' Hannah did not know that she was not an Indian child, but said she knew that she was different, and my grandmother told us that none of Mr. Franklin's own children loved him more than did Hannah Lester.

"About the year 1789 Mr. Franklin and family moved into the lake country of New York State. Coming up Cayuga Lake in a boat, they landed near the spot now occupied by the village of Aurora. Here they were a little secluded band of settlers, for not a human soul, Indian or white man, was living there at that time, and today you will find Franklins occupying some of the same ground. Mrs. Franklin had three children by Mr. Franklin, Rhoda, the youngest, was my grandmother, she married Simeon Benedict in 1804 and they moved to Brockport, Monroe County, New York, in 1830, bringing Mrs. Franklin, her mother, with them. Mr. Franklin died in 1792, but Mrs. Franklin lived to be ninety-six years old."

The compiler is not aware of any published account of Mrs. Lester's captivity. The American army referred to is obviously Sullivan's, Miner, in his "History of Wyoming," describing the advance of Sullivan, says (p. 272): "At Kanadia, on the 5th of September, Mr. Luke Swetland, . . . who had been taken

prisoner the year previous, was relieved from captivity. At Canandaigua, on the 7th, a white child was found, indeed an orphan, without knowledge of its parents. We regret our inability to record its fate. A few days after, a woman who had been taken at Wyoming, came into the army, with a child in her arms of seven or eight months old. Her name we have not been able to learn." It is probable, as appears from the foregoing account, that this woman was Elizabeth Stone Lester.

LESTER, HANNAH. See the above account. The "Indian queen" with whom Hannah lived was, plausibly, Catharine Monteur. If the child's captivity lasted, as stated, for nine years, her release did not come until 1787, an exceptionally late date.

LEWIS, (Sergt.) JOHN. Taken captive Oct. 24, 1781, near Argusville, N. Y., by British and Indians under Maj. Ross and Walter Butler; was a sergeant in Capt. Robert Yates' company of militia. Was apparently sent to Western New York with Jacob Tanner, Rudolf Keller and others. Some of the party wintered in the Genesee valley with the Senecas, and were taken to Fort Niagara, in March, 1782. The captivity of Lewis ended November, 1782. He died 1833.

Data supplied by Mr. John C. Pearson, Cleveland, O.; MS. records, vol. x, fol. 197, Comptroller's office, Albany.

LOCKERMAN, CHRISTOPH. Aged 30. Taken in Pennsylvania in 1778; sent from Fort Niagara to Montreal, August, 1783.

Haldimand MSS.

LYONS, (Lieut.) ROBERT. An officer in the Continental army, mentioned in a "return of prisoners taken and brot into Niagara" from April 1st to May 12, 1780. Of sixty-eight captives, twenty-two were killed, five escaped, thirteen were brought to Niagara and sent down to Montreal, two enlisted in the Rangers; twenty-one were women. When the report quoted from was made, Lieut. Lyons still remained a prisoner at Niagara.

Haldimand MSS.

MCBRIAR, ANDREW. Taken at Gist's (near Fort Necessity) by an Indian named English John, July, 1754. Carried to Canada by way of Venango, Le Boeuf and Fort Niagara.

Stobo's "Memoirs."

MCCARTHY, JAMES. Taken by Capt. Bird at Licking Creek, Aug. 6, 1781; with Jas. Beatles and Jas. Ruddelle was brought to Fort Niagara. In November, 1781, with other prisoners taken in Virginia, Pennsylvania and on the Ohio, thirty-one in all, they were sent to Montreal, reaching there November 28th.

Haldimand MSS.

MCCORMICK, (Miss) ———. Stolen by Indians on the Juniata, in October, 1782, with Elizabeth Ewing, *q. v.* At a place on Lake Erie—not unlikely on the Buffalo Creek, where the Senecas were directly under the influence of Fort Niagara—Miss McCormick was adopted into an Indian family, and detained, her companion

being sent down to Montreal for exchange. The Indians, with Miss McCormick, moved "into the interior of Canada," where her father, who had got trace of his daughter from the report of Elizabeth Ewing, on her arrival home—made his way with great difficulty, as we must suppose, in 1783 or later, after the declaration of peace. He found his daughter living with the tribe, treated as one of the family, and perhaps none the worse for it. Jones, who records this captivity in his "History of the Juniata Valley," adds that Mr. McCormick got possession of his daughter only by the payment of a heavy ransom. The captive was a sister of Robert McCormick, Sr., long a resident of Holidaysburg, Pa., and an aunt of William, Robert and Alexander McCormick of Altoona.

McDANIEL, JOHN. Captured July 12, 1758, "near Halifax in Nova Scotia." Uncertain whether he was an Indian captive or a prisoner of war in the hands of the French. He was brought to Fort Niagara and was found there, a prisoner, when that stronghold surrendered to Sir William Johnson, July 25, 1759.

N. Y. Mercury, Aug. 20, 1759.

McDOWAL, DANIEL. Taken prisoner at Shawnee, Pa., 1782, and carried to Niagara. His father was a benevolent Scotchman who, at Stroudsburg, had befriended the Yankee settlers in their first efforts to establish themselves at Wyoming. Details of Daniel McDowal's captivity are lacking, but he appears to have returned to Pennsylvania. He was the father of Mrs. McKean, wife of Gen. Samuel McKean of Bradford County, a United States Senator.

Miner's "History of Wyoming."

McGREGORY, (Maj.) PATRICK. First and last, during the French regime a good many English traders, or men trading in the English interest, were brought prisoners to the spot where Fort Niagara has so long stood. The most important of all this class of early prisoners was Major, later Colonel, Patrick McGregory. A Scot who had emigrated to Maryland in 1684, he had, soon after that date, removed to New York and engaged in the Indian trade. In December, 1686, Gov. Thomas Dongan commissioned him chief in command of a party of traders which he was to lead from Albany into the country of the Ottawas, and also of a party which had preceded him, under the leadership of Johannes Rooseboom, an Albany Dutchman. In the summer of 1687 Rooseboom with twenty or more canoes, and McGregory with some fifty men, were intercepted on Lake Huron by the French under La Durantaye, reinforced by parties under Du Lhut and Tonty. All the English and Dutch were brought prisoners to the Niagara, where a palisaded post was soon to be built by Denonville. We have no record of any earlier captivity of a white man on the Niagara. McGregory was sent, a prisoner, from Niagara to Montreal, and in the autumn of the same year was released and allowed to return to New York. The next year he shared in the English campaign against the Indians in Maine; and in 1691 he was killed during the Leisler rebellion, in New York. His

woman. She reached the fort in almost a dying condition, being beaten and cut in the most dreadful manner, as her person had been so much exposed on account of the want of clothing to protect her. She was at length allowed to go to her friends—some Scotch people then living in Canada—and after the war she returned to the States."

McKINNEY, JOHN. Taken captive by Indians, in February, 1756, probably in Western Pennsylvania; carried to Fort DuQuesne (Pittsburgh), and thence into Canada, undoubtedly by way of the French post at Niagara. He escaped from Canada and returned to Philadelphia, where he gave valuable information against the French.

Craig's "History of Pittsburgh," 1851.

MANDON family. Details of captivity not known. Sent from Fort Niagara to Montreal, October, 1782.

Haldimand MSS.

MARION, FONTAINE. Name also given as Abell Marrion. A French-Canadian deserter who became guide for the expedition of Maj. Patrick McGregor (*q. v.*). It is not clear whether he passed by Niagara and up Lake Erie with the flotilla headed by Johannes Rooseboom, or with that of McGregor; but when both parties were brought back to the mouth of the Niagara, prisoners of the French, in June, 1687, Marion was reserved for special punishment. He was carried along to the mouth of the Genesee, where the mixed forces of the Marquis de Denonville made rendezvous; and there, at the command of that officer, he was shot to death.

N. Y. Col. Docs. La Hontan, "Nouveaux Voyages."

MARR family. Details of captivity not known. Arrived at Montreal from Fort Niagara, Oct. 4, 1784.

Haldimand MSS.

MATTICE, FREDERICK, Sr. Taken at Middleburgh on the Schoharie, July, 1781, with his son and William Bouck (*q. v.*). The Mattices were detained at Fort Niagara much longer than Bouck, and did not reach home until after the conclusion of peace. Simms relates, in his "History of Schoharie County," that a tory brother of the elder Mattice, who had left Schoharie in 1777, and who was residing in Canada, on learning that Frederick was a prisoner at Fort Niagara, tried to persuade an Indian to kill him. "Mr. Mattice was retained by an Indian five weeks, to construct a log house. During this time the latter, on one occasion, returned from Niagara drunk, and got his prisoner up in the night to murder him. He struck a blow at his head with some missile, which the latter parried, and the Indian's squaw caught hold of her leige lord and held him, sending Mattice out of the hut, where he remained until the demonizing effect of the alcohol passed from the warrior's brain."

MATTICE, FREDERICK, Jr. Son of the foregoing, aged ten years, when taken captive. In the main he shared his father's experiences.

The boy suffered especially in running the gauntlet on the Genesee, for the Indians, before making him undergo the ordeal, had stripped him of all clothing except his shirt. That he survived at all is evidence that his tormentors had regard for his tender years. Simms ("History of Schoharie County") mentions that "on arriving at the Tonawanta Creek, the punkies"—i. e., the mosquitoes—"tormented young Mattice nights, and he adopted the expedient of burying his person in the forest leaves, to keep them off. They all laid down to rest nights, like so many dogs in a kennel."

The Haldimand MSS. mention the arrival of the Mattices at Montreal from Fort Niagara, Oct. 4, 1782, with more than fifty other American prisoners.

MERCKLEY, MARTIN. Son of Frederick Merckley, and two young women, his cousins, children of Michael Merckley. ("Name formerly written 'Mercle,' and pronounced 'Mericle.'—SIMMS.) The attack upon this family and their neighbors, the family of Bastian France, in Schoharie, Oct. 18, 1780, is detailed by Simms. Several were slain, some after being carried off captives. Among those who survived the attack were Martin Merckley, a young boy, and his two cousins, first names not recorded, daughters of Michael Merckley, a prominent citizen of the neighborhood. The circumstances of his murder, and that of his beautiful niece Catharine, were particularly atrocious. The party in which were the three young Merckleys "journeyed directly to Canada by the usual southwestern route," i. e., up the Schoharie valley, down the Susquehanna, thence by the Chemung or Seneca-lake trail, the Genesee valley and Tonawanda, to Fort Niagara. They suffered greatly on the way from cold, the season being late, and from lack of food. "Putrid horse-flesh, fortunately found in the path, was considered a luxury, and doubtless saved some of them from starving. Martin Merckley was compelled to run the gauntlet, and was beaten and buffeted a great distance. Prisoners captured in the spring or fall, when the Indians were congregated in villages, usually suffered more than those taken in mid-summer. As the Merckley girls were then orphans, and their father's personal property all destroyed, they accepted offers of marriage, and both remained in Canada."

Simms, "History of Schoharie County."

MERINESS, THOMAS. Young man captured with the Vroomans at Schoharie, Aug. 9, 1780. Was brought to Fort Niagara, thence shipped down the St. Lawrence, but instead of being exchanged at Montreal, as were many of the Schoharie prisoners, he was taken to Quebec, and while there engaged, with other American prisoners, in an attempt to blow up the magazine. The plan was discovered, and the conspirators were so severely flogged that two of them died; but Meriness recovered.

MILLER, CATHERINE. Details of capture not known. Was sent with other prisoners from Fort Niagara to Montreal, in April, 1781. Haldimand MSS.

MILLER, EVE. Case so far as known same as Catherine Miller, above.

MILES, W. Captured at Fort Freeland on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, in 1778. He was then a youth, and was carried a prisoner into Canada, the only likely route, under the circumstances, being by Fort Niagara. He seems to have been detained near Niagara, on the Canada side, for it is recorded that at the close of the Revolution he crossed Lake Erie and settled near Presqu' Isle. In his old age he lived at Girard, Pa., sixteen miles west of Erie.

Rupp's "Early History of Western Pennsylvania," Pittsburg, 1846.

MONCOURT, (*Cadet*) ———. Of the Canadian Colonial forces, made prisoner of war at Fort Niagara, July 25, 1759, with Pouchot, *q. v.* On the day after the surrender Moncourt was the victim of an extraordinary expression of friendship. Pouchot gives the tragedy in a few words: "Cadet Moncourt of the Colonials, had formed an attachment with an Indian, to whom he became bound in friendship. This Indian, who belonged to the English army, seeing his friend a prisoner, expressed a great deal of sorrow at his situation, and said to him: 'Brother, I am in despair at seeing you dead; but take heart; I'll prevent their torturing you,' and killed him with a blow of a tomahawk, thinking thereby to save him from the tortures to which prisoners among themselves are subjected."

MOORE, (*Miss*) JANE. Taken at Cherry Valley, Nov. 11, 1778; carried to Fort Niagara, where she was released and married Capt. John Powell of the British army. Brant, her captor, was present at her wedding.

Campbell's "Annals of Tryon County"; Simms, "History of Schoharie County."

MOORE, (*Mrs.*) MARY, and four children, among them Jane Moore, who became wife to Capt. John Powell. Mrs. Moore and children were taken at Cherry Valley, Nov. 11, 1778, and carried to Fort Niagara. Mrs. Moore was wife of John Moore, of the Tryon County Committee of Safety, and sister of Capt. Alexander Harper, who was also carried at a later period, a prisoner to Niagara. She appears to have been sent to Montreal in June, 1780.

MOORHEAD, FERGUS. About 1771 or '72 Fergus Moorhead, who had begun improvements near where the town of Indiana, Pa., now stands, was captured, with a settler named Simpson. Simpson was killed, and Moorhead was "carried through the woods to Quebec," where he was confined eleven months. Whoever will look at the map, and recall the paths and conditions of the time, needs no further assurance that Moorhead's route could have avoided Fort Niagara only with great difficulty. He was subsequently exchanged, and rejoined his family in Franklin, Pa.

Rupp's "Early History of Western Pennsylvania," Pittsburg, 1846.

MORAMBERT, (*Lieut.*) ———. Prisoner of war at Fort Niagara, July 25, 1759, with Pouchot, *q. v.*

MUNSON, (*Sergt.*) LENT. Was one of eleven, taken prisoner Oct. 17, 1793, by Indians who attacked an expedition led by Lieut. Lowry and Ensign Boyd, near Fort St. Clair. Munson was taken into the Ottawa country on the Maumee (Miami). His head was shaved and he was made a slave to an Ottawa family living on the river some thirty miles from the lake. In June, 1794, while most of the warriors had gone off on an expedition to intercept and destroy Gen. Wayne's army (as they had the forces of Harmer and St. Clair), he escaped by night, in a canoe, in which he reached Lake Erie two days later. Skirting the shore of the lake, and at first traveling only at night, he reached Fort Niagara, where he rested and was given succor. He then journeyed on to Connecticut, where he had friends, reaching there about the end of July, 1794.

"Narrative of the captivity and escape of Sergeant Lent Munson, who fell into the hands of the Western Indians at the time of Lieut. Lowry's defeat," in Drake's "Tragedies of the Wilderness," Boston, 1846.

MURPHY, SAMUEL. Taken prisoner by "Massissaugas"; sent from Detroit to Fort Niagara, thence to Montreal, Nov. 1781.
Haldimand MSS.

MYNDERT, CHRISTIAN. Of Sharon, Schoharie Co., where he was taken captive late in October, 1781, with Jacob Kerker, William Kneiskern and Lieut. Jacob Borst, *q. v.*

NEAL family. Details of captivity not known. Were sent from Fort Niagara to Montreal, where they arrived Oct. 4, 1782.
Haldimand MSS.

Negroes. A great many negroes were brought captive to Fort Niagara, especially during the years of the Revolution, but the names of very few of them are preserved. It is recorded that they were docile as prisoners, seldom attempting to escape. The Indians recognized these traits, and usually did not take the trouble to bind them on the march or in camp. They were not compelled to run the gauntlet, and many of them made no attempt to return to the States after the war, generally adopting the Indian life. Simms says that a negro belonging to Isaac Vrooman, usually called Tom Vrooman, who was taken captive in the Schoharie raid of Aug. 9, 1780, became a waiter to Sir John Johnson, and in that capacity passed through the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys in the following October, and was captured by an American soldier near Fort Plain. It was probably as captives that the first negroes who came to the Niagara were brought thither.

Negro girl, name not known, aged seventeen years, taken in the vicinity of Wyoming in November, 1778. She was afterwards seen by prisoners, employed as a servant in the family of Col. John Butler at Niagara, he having purchased her of the Indians.

NELSON, MOSES. Was at the fort of Cherry Valley at the time of the massacre in the fall of 1778, being then in his 14th year. He escaped, and in the March following enlisted in the batteau service on the Hudson, for a term of ten months. He returned to Cherry Valley and was living there with his mother, when they were surprised, April 24, 1780, by a party of seventy-nine Indians and two Tories. Of the many prisoners taken by this party, eight were killed, among them young Nelson's mother. A Stockbridge Indian claimed the boy as his own, and brought him, by way of Otsego lake, the Susquehanna to Tioga, and the Genesee valley to Fort Niagara, which he reached after a journey of eighteen days, having been compelled to run the gauntlet at two villages on the way. At Fort Niagara Nelson was given the option of living with his Indian master, who was called Captain David, or enlisting into the British service. Simms, who chronicles Nelson's adventures, says the boy was "sold into the forester service of the enemy, the duties of which were to 'procure wood, water, etc., for the garrison, and do the boating'; being attached to what was called the Indian department. He was sent on one occasion with a party to Buffalo," the Indian village on Buffalo Creek no doubt being meant. "He was for a while, with several other captives whose situation was like his own, in the employ of Col. John Butler. More than a year of his captivity was spent in the vicinity of Niagara." In the spring of 1782, Capt. Nellis, Lieut. James Hare, and Ensign Robert Nellis, son of the captain, set out from Fort Niagara, with a large party of Indians, soldiers and workmen, by sloop for Fort Oswego, which the British proposed to rebuild. Young Nelson and two other American lads, also prisoners, were taken along as waiters. During the summer, about 100 persons were employed in rebuilding the fortress. Nelson was detained there until the spring of 1783, and was in the fort in February of that year when Col. Willet and his body of American troops made an abortive attempt to capture it. When peace was proclaimed in the spring of 1783, Nelson, with many other prisoners, returned home by the St. Lawrence, Ticonderoga and Fort Edward. At Montreal, on his way home, he was paid for labor done in the British service the year before.

In 1841 Moses Nelson, then a resident of Otsego Co., N. Y., related the incidents of his captivity to Jephtha R. Simms, who recorded them in his "History of Schoharie County and Border Wars of New York," Albany, 1845.

NEWKIRK, WILLIAM. Taken by Cornplanter and his followers, summer of 1780, on the Mohawk or headwaters of the Susquehanna; brought to the Genesee, living at Little Beard's Town and Fort Niagara about a year. He then enlisted under Butler and went on an expedition to the Monongahela.

"Life of Mary Jemison."

NICHOLAS, JOHN. See FRIMIRE, JOHN.

O'BRIEN, HENRY. Of Monteur's company; at battle of Great Meadows, July 4, 1754, taken prisoner by Indians in the French

LARA, WILLIAM. Made captive near Hagersfield, N. Y., April 8, 1790. He appears to have shared the fortunes of Capt. Alexander Harper and a large party of prisoners, who were brought through to Fort Niagara at this time.

Jay Gould's "History of Delaware County."

LARA, ———. Son of the above, taken captive with him. So far as known, shared his experiences.

L'ARMINAC, Le Chevalier de, Lieutenant of the Marine (Fr.), prisoner of war at Fort Niagara, July 25, 1759, with Pouchot, *q. v.*

LESTER, ELIZABETH STONE. The following narrative is furnished to the present compiler by Mrs. Frank Benedict of Brockport, N. Y., a great-granddaughter of the captive:

"Elizabeth Stone was born at Litchfield, Conn., in 1743. She married a Mr. Lester and they moved to Wyoming, Pennsylvania, about 1770. They lived through the massacre of Wyoming, but scarcely a month had passed when a band of Indians made an attack upon their home, killing Mr. Lester and carrying off Mrs. Lester and her three children. The eldest, a boy four years old, they killed because he cried for his mother; and little Hannah, nearly three, was taken to Canada and adopted by an old Indian queen, with whom she lived nine years. There was also a little baby.

"The Indians with their prisoners came north into the lake country or Genesee valley, where they had corn and other grains planted. Mrs. Lester said they tried to teach her to hoe corn, but she was determined not to do such work and always cut it off or hoed it up, and at last they gave up trying to teach her.

"She being skillful with her needle, they kept her busy with sewing. In some way they had gotten a coat which was trimmed with white cotton fringe and they admired it very much. Mrs. Lester made a coat after this pattern, making the fringe by raveling out some factory. The Indians were so pleased with this that they thought her almost a wonder.

"How long Mrs. Lester was with the Indians I do not know, but the Indians hearing that a detachment of the American army were in pursuit of them, left their camping-ground and hurried away to Canada.

"Mrs. Lester and baby both being sick, they were left behind. She overheard the Indians say, 'Let us kill her,' but an old squaw said, 'No, leave her in the woods and if she lives she lives and if she dies she dies.'

"As soon as the Indians were out of sight and well on their journey, Mrs. Lester turned her face towards the approaching army, following the trail back as nearly as she could remember. Sleeping in the woods and on the bank of the river, living upon berries and roots, she hurried along, meeting the army the third day. As she wore an Indian blanket they, thinking her a squaw, concluded to shoot her, but she made gestures to them, and they waited to see what she wanted. She told them her story and one of the soldiers knew of the family and so the men believed what she told them.

"The Indians were so far in advance that there was no hope of overtaking them, so the army turned back, taking Mrs. Lester and baby with them. They gave her a horse to ride, but the motion making the baby worse, one of the soldiers walked by the side of the horse carrying the little one in his arms all day. The next day the baby died. The poor mother's heart was torn with grief as she thought of leaving the little body in the woods to be eaten by wild animals, but the soldiers stopped, unasked, and peeling the bark from a birch tree they laid the little dead baby in it and buried it in the wilderness. This thoughtful kindness was a great comfort to the mother.

"On reaching Wyoming Mrs. Lester had nothing to keep her there—home, husband and children being gone; so alone and on horseback she returned to Litchfield, Conn. The next year she came back to Wyoming, hoping to hear something of her little Hannah from returning prisoners. In 1782 Mrs. Lester married Mr. Roswell Franklin, brother of Colonel John Franklin. Mr. Roswell Franklin's first wife was taken prisoner and killed by the Indians in 1781. After the close of the war they heard that there were some white children prisoners in Canada. Mr. and Mrs. Franklin went to Niagara feeling sure that a little girl who had been adopted by an old Indian queen was Mrs. Franklin's little Hannah. The British officer knowing if Mr. and Mrs. Franklin went for the child themselves that she would be hidden away, kept them at the fort and sent for the 'queen' to come down. She came, and he told her she would be obliged to give up the child, and that she could take anything in the store that she wished. She was kept there, while Mr. Franklin and some other men went for Hannah.

"They found her sick, very sick, for the news had preceded them. Finding that there was no use of arguing with the Indians, Mr. Franklin told them that he should 'take the child dead or alive to her mother.' Hannah did not know that she was not an Indian child, but said she knew that she was different, and my grandmother told us that none of Mr. Franklin's own children loved him more than did Hannah Lester.

"About the year 1789 Mr. Franklin and family moved into the lake country of New York State. Coming up Cayuga Lake in a boat, they landed near the spot now occupied by the village of Aurora. Here they were a little secluded band of settlers, for not a human soul, Indian or white man, was living there at that time, and today you will find Franklins occupying some of the same ground. Mrs. Franklin had three children by Mr. Franklin, Rhoda, the youngest, was my grandmother, she married Simeon Benedict in 1804 and they moved to Brockport, Monroe County, New York, in 1830, bringing Mrs. Franklin, her mother, with them. Mr. Franklin died in 1792, but Mrs. Franklin lived to be ninety-six years old."

The compiler is not aware of any published account of Mrs. Lester's captivity. The American army referred to is obviously Sullivan's, Miner, in his "History of Wyoming," describing the advance of Sullivan, says (p. 272): "At Kanadia, on the 5th of September, Mr. Luke Swetland, . . . who had been taken

prisoner the year previous, was relieved from captivity. At Canandaigua, on the 7th, a white child was found, indeed as reported, without knowledge of its parents. We regret our inability to report its fate. A few days after, a woman who had been taken at Wapping, came into the army, with a child in her arms of seven or eight months old. Her name we have not been able to learn. It is probable as appears from the foregoing account, that this woman was Elizabeth Stone Lester.

LESTER, HANNAH. See the above account. The "Indian queen" with whom Hannah lived was, plainly, Catherine Montour. If the child's captivity lasted, as stated, for nine years, her release did not come until 1787, an exceptionally late date.

LEWIS, SERGE, JOHN. Taken captive Oct. 24, 1781, near Argusville, N. Y., by British and Indians under Maj. Ross and Walter Butler; was a sergeant in Capt. Robert Yates' company of militia. Was apparently sent to Western New York with Jacob Tammert, Knott Kellor and others. Some of the party wintered in the Genesee valley with the Senecas, and were taken at Fort Niagara, in March, 1782. The captivity of Lewis ended November, 1782. He died 1833.

Data supplied by Mr. John C. Pearson, Cleveland, O.; MS. records, vol. x, fol. 197, Comptroller's office, Albany.

LEWISMAN, CHRISTOPHER. Aged 20. Taken in Pennsylvania in 1778; sent from Fort Niagara to Montreal, August, 1783.

Haldimand MSS.

LYONS, (Lions) ROBERT. An officer in the Continental army, mentioned in a "return of prisoners taken and brot into Niagara" from April 1st to May 12, 1780. Of sixty-eight captives, twenty-two were killed, five escaped, thirteen were brought to Niagara and sent down to Montreal, two enlisted in the Rangers; twenty-one were women. When the report quoted from was made, Lieut. Lyons still remained a prisoner at Niagara.

Haldimand MSS.

McBEAR, ANDREW. Taken at Gist's (near Fort Necessity) by an Indian named English John, July, 1754. Carried to Canada by way of Venango, Le Boeuf and Fort Niagara.

Steele's "Memoirs."

McCARNEY, JAMES. Taken by Capt. Bird at Licking Creek, Aug. 6, 1781; with Jas. Beatles and Jas. Ruddelle was brought to Fort Niagara. In November, 1781, with other prisoners taken in Virginia, Pennsylvania and on the Ohio, thirty-one in all, they were sent to Montreal, reaching there November 28th.

Haldimand MSS.

McCORMICK, (Miss) ———. Stolen by Indians on the Juniata, in October, 1782, with Elizabeth Ewing, *q. v.* At a place on Lake Erie—not unlikely on the Buffalo Creek, where the Senecas were directly under the influence of Fort Niagara—Miss McCormick was adopted into an Indian family, and detained, her companion

being sent down to Montreal for exchange. The Indians, with Miss McCormick, moved "into the interior of Canada," where her father, who had got trace of his daughter from the report of Elizabeth Ewing, on her arrival home—made his way with great difficulty, as we must suppose, in 1783 or later, after the declaration of peace. He found his daughter living with the tribe, treated as one of the family, and perhaps none the worse for it. Jones, who records this captivity in his "History of the Juniata Valley," adds that Mr. McCormick got possession of his daughter only by the payment of a heavy ransom. The captive was a sister of Robert McCormick, Sr., long a resident of Holidaysburg, Pa., and an aunt of William, Robert and Alexander McCormick of Altoona.

McDANIEL, JOHN. Captured July 12, 1758, "near Halifax in Nova Scotia." Uncertain whether he was an Indian captive or a prisoner of war in the hands of the French. He was brought to Fort Niagara and was found there, a prisoner, when that stronghold surrendered to Sir William Johnson, July 25, 1759.

N. Y. Mercury, Aug. 20, 1759.

McDOWAL, DANIEL. Taken prisoner at Shawnee, Pa., 1782, and carried to Niagara. His father was a benevolent Scotchman who, at Stroudsburg, had befriended the Yankee settlers in their first efforts to establish themselves at Wyoming. Details of Daniel McDowal's captivity are lacking, but he appears to have returned to Pennsylvania. He was the father of Mrs. McKean, wife of Gen. Samuel McKean of Bradford County, a United States Senator.

Miner's "History of Wyoming."

McGREGORY, (Maj.) PATRICK. First and last, during the French regime a good many English traders, or men trading in the English interest, were brought prisoners to the spot where Fort Niagara has so long stood. The most important of all this class of early prisoners was Major, later Colonel, Patrick McGregory. A Scot who had emigrated to Maryland in 1684, he had, soon after that date, removed to New York and engaged in the Indian trade. In December, 1686, Gov. Thomas Dongan commissioned him chief in command of a party of traders which he was to lead from Albany into the country of the Ottawas, and also of a party which had preceded him, under the leadership of Johannes Rooseboom, an Albany Dutchman. In the summer of 1687 Rooseboom with twenty or more canoes, and McGregory with some fifty men, were intercepted on Lake Huron by the French under La Durantaye, reinforced by parties under Du Lhut and Tonty. All the English and Dutch were brought prisoners to the Niagara, where a palisaded post was soon to be built by Denonville. We have no record of any earlier captivity of a white man on the Niagara. McGregory was sent, a prisoner, from Niagara to Montreal, and in the autumn of the same year was released and allowed to return to New York. The next year he shared in the English campaign against the Indians in Maine; and in 1691 he was killed during the Leisler rebellion, in New York. His

name is variously spelled, "McGregory," "MacGregory," etc. In Governor Dongan's commission it stands as "Magregore."

See also memoranda respecting Nanning Harmetsen, Fredrych Harmetsen, Dyrick von der Heyder and Fontaine (Abell) Marion, who were among the captives with Rooseboom. The principal source of information on this episode is the N. Y. Colonial documents.

McKEE, ANNE. The sixteen-year-old daughter of a family living on the headwaters of the Delaware, near the present town of Hobart, Delaware County, New York. In the summer of 1779 a war party came up the Delaware, having learned that a Whig by the name of McKee had settled in the vicinity. The day of their arrival, McKee had gone to Schoharie for flour, but the savages murdered his wife and children, except Anne, and their bodies were burned in their log cabin. Anne, being fleet-footed, ran to a swamp and hid under a log. Venturing to raise her head to look towards her burning home, "she saw an Indian of large stature approaching her, wielding a firebrand in one hand, and a large knife, smeared with blood, in the other. She immediately sprang from her hiding-place, and with outstretched arms approached the hideous savage and threw herself at his feet. This bold act saved her life. She was led back by her captor to the burning buildings, and putting several pairs of stockings on her feet, they then resumed their course to Fort Niagara."

The foregoing quotation is from Jay Gould's "History of Delaware County," published at Roxbury in 1856. Mr. Gould quotes from Priest's narrative of the captivity of Schermerhorn, the following account of Anne McKee's arrival at Fort Niagara. She is the only woman of whom we find record, who was compelled to run the gauntlet at Fort Niagara:

"This dreadful race was also run by a Miss Anne McKee, who was taken prisoner in the town of Harpersfield, N. Y., during the Revolution, by the Mohawk Indians under Brant. She was a young Scotch girl, who during the journey suffered incredibly from hunger, the want of clothes, and other privations. When she came to Fort Niagara, the squaws insisted that she should run the race, in order that the pale-faced squaw might take a blow from the same sex of another nation than hers. It was a grievous sight to see a slender girl, weak from hunger, and worn down with the horrors and privations of a 400 miles' journey through the woods, by night and day, compelled at the end to run this race of shame and suffering. Her head was bare, and her hair tangled into mats, her feet naked and bleeding from wounds, all her clothes torn to rags during her march—one would have thought the heart-rending sight would have moved the savages. She wept not, for all her tears had been shed—she stared around upon the grinning multitude in hopeless amazement and fixed despair, while she glanced mournfully at the fort which lay at the end of the race. The signal was given, which was a yell, when she immediately started off as fast as she could, while the squaws laid on their whips with all their might; thus venting their malice and envy upon the hated white

woman. She reached the fort in almost a dying condition, being beaten and cut in the most dreadful manner, as her person had been so much exposed on account of the want of clothing to protect her. She was at length allowed to go to her friends—some Scotch people then living in Canada—and after the war she returned to the States."

McKINNEY, JOHN. Taken captive by Indians, in February, 1756, probably in Western Pennsylvania; carried to Fort DuQuesne (Pittsburgh), and thence into Canada, undoubtedly by way of the French post at Niagara. He escaped from Canada and returned to Philadelphia, where he gave valuable information against the French.

Craig's "History of Pittsburgh," 1851.

MANDON family. Details of captivity not known. Sent from Fort Niagara to Montreal, October, 1782.

Haldimand MSS.

MARION, FONTAINE. Name also given as Abell Marrión. A French-Canadian deserter who became guide for the expedition of Maj. Patrick McGregory (*q. v.*). It is not clear whether he passed by Niagara and up Lake Erie with the flotilla headed by Johannes Rooseboom, or with that of McGregory; but when both parties were brought back to the mouth of the Niagara, prisoners of the French, in June, 1687, Marion was reserved for special punishment. He was carried along to the mouth of the Genesee, where the mixed forces of the Marquis de Denonville made rendezvous; and there, at the command of that officer, he was shot to death.

N. Y. Col. Docs. La Hontan, "Nouveaux Voyages."

MARR family. Details of captivity not known. Arrived at Montreal from Fort Niagara, Oct. 4, 1784.

Haldimand MSS.

MATTICE, FREDERICK, Sr. Taken at Middleburgh on the Schoharie, July, 1781, with his son and William Bouck (*q. v.*). The Mattices were detained at Fort Niagara much longer than Bouck, and did not reach home until after the conclusion of peace. Simms relates, in his "History of Schoharie County," that a tory brother of the elder Mattice, who had left Schoharie in 1777, and who was residing in Canada, on learning that Frederick was a prisoner at Fort Niagara, tried to persuade an Indian to kill him. "Mr. Mattice was retained by an Indian five weeks, to construct a log house. During this time the latter, on one occasion, returned from Niagara drunk, and got his prisoner up in the night to murder him. He struck a blow at his head with some missile, which the latter parried, and the Indian's squaw caught hold of her leige lord and held him, sending Mattice out of the hut, where he remained until the demonizing effect of the alcohol passed from the warrior's brain."

MATTICE, FREDERICK, Jr. Son of the foregoing, aged ten years, when taken captive. In the main he shared his father's experiences.

The boy suffered especially in running the gauntlet on the Genesee, for the Indians, before making him undergo the ordeal, had stripped him of all clothing except his shirt. That he survived at all is evidence that his tormentors had regard for his tender years. Simms ("History of Schoharie County") mentions that "on arriving at the Tonawanta Creek, the punkies"—i. e., the mosquitoes—"tormented young Mattice nights, and he adopted the expedient of burying his person in the forest leaves, to keep them off. They all laid down to rest nights, like so many dogs in a kennel."

The Haldimand MSS. mention the arrival of the Mattices at Montreal from Fort Niagara, Oct. 4, 1782, with more than fifty other American prisoners.

MERCKLEY, MARTIN. Son of Frederick Merckley, and two young women, his cousins, children of Michael Merckley. ("Name formerly written 'Merckle,' and pronounced 'Mericle.'—SIMMS.) The attack upon this family and their neighbors, the family of Bastian France, in Schoharie, Oct. 18, 1780, is detailed by Simms. Several were slain, some after being carried off captives. Among those who survived the attack were Martin Merckley, a young boy, and his two cousins, first names not recorded, daughters of Michael Merckley, a prominent citizen of the neighborhood. The circumstances of his murder, and that of his beautiful niece Catharine, were particularly atrocious. The party in which were the three young Merckleys "journeyed directly to Canada by the usual southwestern route," i. e., up the Schoharie valley, down the Susquehanna, thence by the Chemung or Seneca-lake trail, the Genesee valley and Tonawanda, to Fort Niagara. They suffered greatly on the way from cold, the season being late, and from lack of food. "Putrid horse-flesh, fortunately found in the path, was considered a luxury, and doubtless saved some of them from starving. Martin Merckley was compelled to run the gauntlet, and was beaten and buffeted a great distance. Prisoners captured in the spring or fall, when the Indians were congregated in villages, usually suffered more than those taken in mid-summer. As the Merckley girls were then orphans, and their father's personal property all destroyed, they accepted offers of marriage, and both remained in Canada."

Simms, "History of Schoharie County."

MERINESS, THOMAS. Young man captured with the Vroomans at Schoharie, Aug. 9, 1780: Was brought to Fort Niagara, thence shipped down the St. Lawrence, but instead of being exchanged at Montreal, as were many of the Schoharie prisoners, he was taken to Quebec, and while there engaged, with other American prisoners, in an attempt to blow up the magazine. The plan was discovered, and the conspirators were so severely flogged that two of them died; but Meriness recovered.

MILLER, CATHERINE. Details of capture not known. Was sent with other prisoners from Fort Niagara to Montreal, in April, 1781.

Haldimand MSS.

MILLER, EVE. Case so far as known same as Catherine Miller, above.

MILES, W. Captured at Fort Freeland on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, in 1778. He was then a youth, and was carried a prisoner into Canada, the only likely route, under the circumstances, being by Fort Niagara. He seems to have been detained near Niagara, on the Canada side, for it is recorded that at the close of the Revolution he crossed Lake Erie and settled near Presqu' Isle. In his old age he lived at Girard, Pa., sixteen miles west of Erie.

Rupp's "Early History of Western Pennsylvania," Pittsburg, 1846.

MONCOURT, (*Cadet*) ———. Of the Canadian Colonial forces, made prisoner of war at Fort Niagara, July 25, 1759, with Pouchot, *q. v.* On the day after the surrender Moncourt was the victim of an extraordinary expression of friendship. Pouchot gives the tragedy in a few words: "Cadet Moncourt of the Colonials, had formed an attachment with an Indian, to whom he became bound in friendship. This Indian, who belonged to the English army, seeing his friend a prisoner, expressed a great deal of sorrow at his situation, and said to him: 'Brother, I am in despair at seeing you dead; but take heart; I'll prevent their torturing you,' and killed him with a blow of a tomahawk, thinking thereby to save him from the tortures to which prisoners among themselves are subjected."

MOORE, (*Miss*) JANE. Taken at Cherry Valley, Nov. 11, 1778; carried to Fort Niagara, where she was released and married Capt. John Powell of the British army. Brant, her captor, was present at her wedding.

Campbell's "Annals of Tryon County"; Simms, "History of Schoharie County."

MOORE, (*Mrs.*) MARY, and four children, among them Jane Moore, who became wife to Capt. John Powell. Mrs. Moore and children were taken at Cherry Valley, Nov. 11, 1778, and carried to Fort Niagara. Mrs. Moore was wife of John Moore, of the Tryon County Committee of Safety, and sister of Capt. Alexander Harper, who was also carried at a later period, a prisoner to Niagara. She appears to have been sent to Montreal in June, 1780.

MOORHEAD, FERGUS. About 1771 or '72 Fergus Moorhead, who had begun improvements near where the town of Indiana, Pa., now stands, was captured, with a settler named Simpson. Simpson was killed, and Moorhead was "carried through the woods to Quebec," where he was confined eleven months. Whoever will look at the map, and recall the paths and conditions of the time, needs no further assurance that Moorhead's route could have avoided Fort Niagara only with great difficulty. He was subsequently exchanged, and rejoined his family in Franklin, Pa.

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MORAMBERT, (Lieut.) ———. Prisoner of war at Fort Niagara, July 25, 1759, with Pouchot, *q. v.*

MUNSON, (Sergt.) LENT. Was one of eleven, taken prisoner Oct. 17, 1793, by Indians who attacked an expedition led by Lieut. Lowry and Ensign Boyd, near Fort St. Clair. Munson was taken into the Ottawa country on the Maumee (Miami). His head was shaved and he was made a slave to an Ottawa family living on the river some thirty miles from the lake. In June, 1794, while most of the warriors had gone off on an expedition to intercept and destroy Gen. Wayne's army (as they had the forces of Harmer and St. Clair), he escaped by night, in a canoe, in which he reached Lake Erie two days later. Skirting the shore of the lake, and at first traveling only at night, he reached Fort Niagara, where he rested and was given succor. He then journeyed on to Connecticut, where he had friends, reaching there about the end of July, 1794.

"Narrative of the captivity and escape of Sergeant Lent Munson, who fell into the hands of the Western Indians at the time of Lieut. Lowry's defeat," in Drake's "Tragedies of the Wilderness," Boston, 1846.

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NEAL family. Details of captivity not known. Were sent from Fort Niagara to Montreal, where they arrived Oct. 4, 1782.

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Negroes. A great many negroes were brought captive to Fort Niagara, especially during the years of the Revolution, but the names of very few of them are preserved. It is recorded that they were docile as prisoners, seldom attempting to escape. The Indians recognized these traits, and usually did not take the trouble to bind them on the march or in camp. They were not compelled to run the gauntlet, and many of them made no attempt to return to the States after the war, generally adopting the Indian life. Simms says that a negro belonging to Isaac Vrooman, usually called Tom Vrooman, who was taken captive in the Schoharie raid of Aug. 9, 1780, became a waiter to Sir John Johnson, and in that capacity passed through the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys in the following October, and was captured by an American soldier near Fort Plain. It was probably as captives that the first negroes who came to the Niagara were brought thither.

Negro girl, name not known, aged seventeen years, taken in the vicinity of Wyoming in November, 1778. She was afterwards seen by prisoners, employed as a servant in the family of Col. John Butler at Niagara, he having purchased her of the Indians.

NELSON, MOSES. Was at the fort of Cherry Valley at the time of the massacre in the fall of 1778, being then in his 14th year. He escaped, and in the March following enlisted in the batteau service on the Hudson, for a term of ten months. He returned to Cherry Valley and was living there with his mother, when they were surprised, April 24, 1780, by a party of seventy-nine Indians and two Tories. Of the many prisoners taken by this party, eight were killed, among them young Nelson's mother. A Stockbridge Indian claimed the boy as his own, and brought him, by way of Otsego lake, the Susquehanna to Tioga, and the Genesee valley to Fort Niagara, which he reached after a journey of eighteen days, having been compelled to run the gauntlet at two villages on the way. At Fort Niagara Nelson was given the option of living with his Indian master, who was called Captain David, or enlisting into the British service. Simms, who chronicles Nelson's adventures, says the boy was "sold into the forester service of the enemy, the duties of which were to 'procure wood, water, etc., for the garrison, and do the boating'; being attached to what was called the Indian department. He was sent on one occasion with a party to Buffalo," the Indian village on Buffalo Creek no doubt being meant. "He was for a while, with several other captives whose situation was like his own, in the employ of Col. John Butler. More than a year of his captivity was spent in the vicinity of Niagara." In the spring of 1782, Capt. Nellis, Lieut. James Hare, and Ensign Robert Nellis, son of the captain, set out from Fort Niagara, with a large party of Indians, soldiers and workmen, by sloop for Fort Oswego, which the British proposed to rebuild. Young Nelson and two other American lads, also prisoners, were taken along as waiters. During the summer, about 100 persons were employed in rebuilding the fortress. Nelson was detained there until the spring of 1783, and was in the fort in February of that year when Col. Willet and his body of American troops made an abortive attempt to capture it. When peace was proclaimed in the spring of 1783, Nelson, with many other prisoners, returned home by the St. Lawrence, Ticonderoga and Fort Edward. At Montreal, on his way home, he was paid for labor done in the British service the year before.

In 1841 Moses Nelson, then a resident of Otsego Co., N. Y., related the incidents of his captivity to Jephtha R. Simms, who recorded them in his "History of Schoharie County and Border Wars of New York," Albany, 1845.

NEWKIRK, WILLIAM. Taken by Cornplanter and his followers, summer of 1780, on the Mohawk or headwaters of the Susquehanna; brought to the Genesee, living at Little Beard's Town and Fort Niagara about a year. He then enlisted under Butler and went on an expedition to the Monongahela.

"Life of Mary Jemison."

NICHOLAS, JOHN. See FRIMIRE, JOHN.

O'BRIEN, HENRY. Of Monteur's company; at battle of Great Meadows, July 4, 1754, taken prisoner by Indians in the French

interest; sent by way of Venango, Le Boeuf and Fort Niagara to Montreal.

Stobo's "Memoirs."

ODENOFFE (?), MARGARET. Captured by Indians on the Delaware, brought to Fort Niagara, sent thence to Montreal, April 23, 1781.

Haldimand MSS.

OGDEN, DAVID. Born at Fishkill, N. Y., 1764; taken prisoner, spring of 1781, near Fort Stanwix, by a party led by Joseph Brant; marched to Fort Niagara, where he ran the gauntlet; was adopted and lived with an Indian family, probably Senecas, near Fort Niagara and at Lewiston, until the spring of 1783, when with other prisoners he was put on board the schooner Seneca and sent to Oswego. He escaped from this post and made his way through the wilderness to Fort Herkimer, where he was given aid and helped on his way to his parents at Warrensburg, Schoharie Co.

Priest's "True Narrative of the Capture of David Ogden," Lansingburgh, 1840; Severance's "Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier."

OLMAN. Possibly the correct spelling for the name which appears in our list as "Utman," as given by Simms and others. *See* UTMAN.

OSTERHOUT, JACOB. Taken prisoner by Indians at Lackawack, Ulster Co., 1778, with George Anderson, and shared his adventures. *See* ANDERSON, GEORGE.

PAINTER, MARGARET. Taken early in 1758 at some point in Pennsylvania. Found a prisoner at Fort Niagara when it was taken by the British, July 25, 1759.

N. Y. *Mercury*, Aug. 20, 1759.

PARRISH, JASPER. Born 1767. Taken prisoner July 5, 1778, by Munseys, a branch of the Delawares, and was carried to the Tioga river, near present site of Elmira, where he lived with his Indian master, Capt. Mounsh, until the summer of 1779, when the Indians, fleeing before Sullivan, carried him to Fort Niagara, where he was later sold to a Mohawk, Capt. David Hill, for \$20. Hill lived on the plain adjoining the fort, and this was Parrish's home until May, 1781, when they moved to present Lewiston. He left there Nov. 29, 1784, to be delivered over to the whites at Fort Stanwix. From 1790 to the close of his life he often acted as interpreter, both for the Government and on other occasions. Feb. 15, 1803, he was appointed sub-agent to the Six Nations, Gen. Israel Chapin being agent. His story is closely linked with that of Horatio Jones, and forms an important chapter in the early history of Buffalo and the Niagara Frontier. He died at Canandaigua, July 12, 1836.

"The Story of Jasper Parrish," *Buf. Hist. Soc. Pubs.*, vol. vi.

PARRISH, STEPHEN, brother of Jasper, taken prisoner with him, July 5, 1778; brought to the Niagara, where he was surrendered to

the British officers at the fort; sent to Montreal and exchanged, returning to his home about two years from date of capture.

PARRISH, ———, father of Jasper and Stephen. Same experience in captivity as Stephen, so far as known.

PATCHIN, FREEGIFT. Was taken with Capt. Alexander Harper by Brant, near Fort Schoharie, April 7, 1780, and shared the adventures of Harper, till they reached Fort Niagara. (See "HARPER, ALEXANDER.") Here he ran the gauntlet; was roughly questioned by Butler, who, resenting the young man's replies about British prospects in the States, called him a "damned rebel" and ordered him out of his sight. Another British officer befriended him, and Mrs. Nancy Bundy, a pioneer, cared for him. (See BUNDY, NANCY). He was sent to Carleton Island, the Cedars, Fort Chambly, where he was kept two years, suffering greatly, then to Quebec, and by ship to Boston; reaching "old Schoharie" after an absence of three years. General Patchin, as he came to be known, was elected to the Legislature in 1820, while DeWitt Clinton was Governor. He was a Member of Assembly from Schoharie County, 1821-22. He acquired property and died at Blenheim, Schoharie County, in or about 1830.

PATCHIN, ISAAC. Brother of Freegift Patchin, and taken with him and Capt. Alexander Harper, on the Schoharie, April 7, 1780. Experiences same as theirs.

PEARL. See PEART. In the "List of Prisoners taken by the Indians from Penn's Valley," dated "Philadelphia, 7mo. 20, 1780," the names of all the Pearls appear as "Pearl." The list is printed in the Pennsylvania Archives, 2d series, vol. iii.

PATTON, JOHN. See BOURKE, THOMAS. In the rare old volume, "The Mystery Reveal'd," etc. (London, 1759), his name is printed "George Pathon." His captivity, with Luke Irwin, Thomas Bourke and Joseph Fortiner recalls that earlier capture of English and Dutch traders, McGregory, Rooseboom and their men, by the French in 1687. Patton and his companions were taken prisoners for trading with the Indians on the Ohio, and brought to Fort Niagara in 1751. Writing to Gov. George Clinton, Aug. 10, 1751, La Jonquière says John "Pathine" was taken prisoner "in the French fort of the Miamis," by M. de Villiers, commandant, and that "Broke" (Bourke), "Arowin" (Irwin) and Fortiner were captured "near the little lake of Otsanderket," i. e., Sandusky.

PEART, BENJAMIN, son of Benjamin Gilbert's second wife, aged 27, taken prisoner by Rowland Monteur's party, when the Gilberts were taken, April 25, 1780. Was taken up the Susquehanna, and, after the separation of the captives, with the main party up the Seneca lake trail to Kanadesaga, thence to an Indian town, apparently Monteur's, on the heights east of Lewiston. Here he was adopted by a squaw, who took him to the Niagara "about two miles below the great falls," according to the Gilbert Narrative; more likely, about seven miles, to the favorite camping

spot, now Lewiston. A few days later he was taken to Fort Niagara in a bark canoe, and after provisions were had, along the south shore of the lake to the Genesee river, and up that stream (portaging at the falls) about thirty miles. Here (Little Beard's Town) Peart found two other white prisoners. He lived with his Indian captors, removing with them from place to place in the Genesee valley, until the late winter or early spring of 1781, receiving one visit from his brother Thomas. His captors took him to Fort Niagara in March, 1781, where he had a brief meeting with his wife, who had been separated from him ten months. After some days at the fort the Indians set out for home, taking Benjamin with them. After going a few miles he pretended he had forgotten something at the fort, and they allowed him to go back for it; he stayed there that night, and the next day, when his Indian brother came for him, professed to be too lame to walk. They left him there two months, then sent another "brother" to fetch him; this one was induced by presents to leave him; later a third emissary came for Benjamin, but the officers secured his surrender, about May, 1781. He was employed for some months by Col. Guy Johnson, was later joined by his wife and child, and in August, 1781, with five other members of the Gilbert family, sailed for Montreal, arriving Aug. 25th; subsequently returning home with the reunited family, August, 1782.

Gilbert "Narrative."

PEART, ELIZABETH, aged 20, Benjamin Peart's wife. Taken with the Gilberts, April 25, 1780, and brought to Fort Niagara with the main party. After separation from her husband, she, her child (Elizabeth, nine months old) and Abigail Dodson, aged 14, were taken eight miles from Niagara fort, and adopted into a Seneca family. Abigail was given to another family. Elizabeth was taken to Fort Schlosser, then to Buffalo Creek, where they built a cabin. Some time after they took her to Fort Niagara, where her child was taken from her and sent to a family on the west side of the Niagara. Elizabeth went back to Buffalo Creek, where she lived a laborious and menial life until the summer of 1781, with one visit to Fort Niagara and across the river to see her child. On a second visit to Fort Niagara she met her husband, regained her child, and sailed with them and others for Montreal, August, 1781, returning to Pennsylvania with the reunited party, August, 1782.

Gilbert "Narrative."

PEART, ELIZABETH, *Jr.*, nine months old when her mother, Elizabeth Peart, was taken captive with the Gilberts. She was taken from her mother at Fort Niagara, given to an Indian family on the west side of the river, and afterwards cared for by an English family named Fry (Frye). She was subsequently restored to her mother and taken to Montreal and Pennsylvania with the rest of the family.

PEART, THOMAS, aged 23, son of Benjamin Gilbert's wife; taken with the Gilberts on Mahoning Creek, April 25, 1780; separated

from the main party May 4, 1780, and with Joseph Gilbert taken westward to the Genesee, compelled to run the gauntlet, and turned over to work for an Indian at Nunda. Being strong, he worked hard, but was adopted to fill the place of a no-account old man, so was not held in high esteem. He accompanied his captors to Fort Niagara, returning to the Genesee by way of Fort Schlosser and Buffalo Creek. He roamed about, hunted with the Indians, visited Joseph Gilbert at Caracadera, and in the autumn of 1780 received a visit from him, learning from him of the death of Benjamin Gilbert, Sr. On a second expedition to Fort Niagara, the officers bought his release. He worked for Col. Johnson, residing in his family. In the spring of 1781, with officers, he took hoes and seed-corn to the Indians on Buffalo Creek, and saw Rebecca Gilbert; returning to the fort, he worked for Col. Guy Johnson until June, 1781, when six of the released captives were sent to Montreal and he was given permission to go; but he stayed behind, to help Rebecca and the boy Benjamin gain their freedom. In the fall of 1781 he visited them again, on Buffalo Creek. In the winter of 1781-82 he chopped wood for the British officers. In the spring he made two more visits to Buffalo Creek. Some weeks after the last visit Rebecca and the boy Benjamin were set free. Thomas met them and accompanied them to Montreal; returning to Pennsylvania with the reunited family in August, 1782.

Gilbert "Narrative."

PEMBERTON, JAMES. Taken prisoner July 5, 1778, on the headwaters of the Delaware, with Jasper Parrish, and the latter's father and brother Stephen. Was brought to the Niagara by Mohawks, and at Lewiston narrowly escaped being burned at the stake. His captors made him collect brush and wood for his own pyre, stripped him naked and were about to begin the torture, when Brant intervened. He promised him as husband to the squaw who should help effect his escape, arguing that as he was a man of exceptional strength and fine proportions, he would be useful to them. Taking advantage of a momentary opportunity, Pemberton fled, and being a good runner gained Fort Niagara, where he was protected by Col. Butler and given work. He remained at the fort, and in its vicinity, until the Peace of 1783, then joined the Tuscaroras and became the second husband of the mother of John Mountpleasant. He died at Tuscarora village near Lewiston in 1806 or 1807. His descendants still live at Tuscarora. The facts of his escape from the stake at Lewiston were related to Orsamus Turner by John Mountpleasant and Judge Cook of Lewiston. Pemberton told his story to Judge Cook, and pointed out the place of the proposed torture, a level space between the Seymour Scovell house and the ferry.

Turner's "Holland Purchase."

PETER, JOHN. Taken prisoner May 23, 1759, with ——— Robinson and ——— Bell, all of "Capt. Bullet's Co. of Virginians, on their way to Fort Legonier from Ray's Town." Found confined as a

prisoner at Fort Niagara when the British took possession, July 25, 1759.

N. Y. *Mercury*, Aug. 20, 1759.

PHILLIPS, (Capt.) ———. Made captive in July, 1780, in Woodcock valley, tributary to the Juniata, near present Williamsburg, Pa. With him were his son and a party of ten rangers, when they were surrounded by a party of some sixty Indians and two white men disguised as Indians. Phillips' party were all taken, and started off for Kittanning, but a halt was made, "the ten men were tied to as many saplings, and two or three volleys of arrows were fired into them." Capt. Phillips and his son Elijah, the only prisoners spared from the massacre, were taken to Detroit, the Indians expecting a handsome figure from the British, for an American officer. Phillips and his son were sent to Fort Niagara, thence to Montreal, reaching their home in Pennsylvania after peace was declared, in 1783.

Jones, "History of the Juniata Valley."

PHILLIPS, ELIJAH. Aged 14, son of Capt. Phillips, *q. v.*

PIPER, ANDREW. One of the first three settlers of Frankfort, N. Y., in 1723. Was an old man in the spring of 1780, when he was taken captive at German Flats, now Mohawk, in the Mohawk valley. He was held for a time among the Senecas at Kanadesaga, and was offered a chance to escape by an Oneida, who promised to conduct him to safety. Piper feared to make the attempt, and told the Oneida that he would wait in the hope of being exchanged. The conversation was overheard by Col. John Butler, who fearing he might escape, sent him to Fort Niagara.

Data furnished by Mr. Peter F. Piper of the Buffalo Public School Department.

PIPER, ANDREW. Grandson of the foregoing; in 1780 he was an ensign in the 4th Tryon Co. Regiment. He was a prisoner of the British from June 14, 1780, to Dec. 14, 1782. He and his brother Peter were carrying grain to mill at Little Falls when they were ambushed by the Indians not far from Fort Herkimer. Peter killed one of the Indians, but both were taken to Fort Niagara and thence to Quebec. Andrew, who was born 1760, married Elizabeth Fox and died at Frankfort, N. Y., June 5, 1842. His father, Peter Piper, son of Andrew, filed a claim against the State of New York for losses suffered during the Brant and Butler raids of 1780.

Data supplied by Mr. Peter F. Piper. Also mentioned in Haldimand MSS.

PIPER, PETER. Brother of Andrew 2d, and shared his captivity so far as known. No trace of him after he was carried to Quebec.

PORTER, SAMUEL, and four others named Porter, taken captive in Virginia, June 24, 1780; arrived in Montreal from Fort Niagara, Oct. 4, 1782.

Haldimand MSS.

POUCHOT, (*Capt.*) FRANCOIS. Captain in the regiment of Bearn, commanding officer at Fort Niagara. He surrendered the garrison to Sir William Johnson, July 25, 1759. According to Pouchot's own account, the garrison at time of surrender consisted of 486 men, only 340 of whom were capable of bearing arms. This is probably nearer the fact than the English account (Entick, iv. 139), which puts the number of effectives at 607. Pouchot's surrender marked the end of the French regime on the Niagara. The French who were thereafter at Niagara, were there as prisoners of the English.

PRICE, DAVID. Born about 1750, of Welsh parents, in the Mohawk valley. About 1771, while walking through a field near his home, with a companion, they were surprised and taken captive by a band of Senecas. The companion was soon ransomed from the Indians by the British, but Price was kept by his captors two years, after which time, on his promise not to leave them, "they gave him a gun and trusted him on many occasions with important missions. Though held and treated as a captive, on his promise to return with them [i. e. the Senecas], he was allowed to go among the whites at the British forts. . . . They ranged from Fort Niagara in New York through the forests south, east and west, employed as scouts, and in frequent skirmishes. The chief of their band was Little Beard." This chief adopted Price. When Maj. Moses Van Campen was a prisoner and compelled to run the gauntlet, Price was a witness. Price accompanied the Senecas on several occasions when they took prisoners to Fort Niagara, and sometimes saved them from severe punishment at the gauntlet ordeal. One of these, a young girl, afterwards married his uncle, Joseph Price. Another was a Miss Haverstraw. Price remained seven years with the Senecas, and finally severed his connection with the tribe at the British post of Oswego, where he remained as interpreter and clerk until the end of the war. He then came to the Niagara, stayed for a time at Fort Niagara, then made his home near Fort George, on the British side of the river, where he was interpreter and storekeeper in the Indian Department. When the War of 1812 broke out, he removed to a farm in the present village of Welland, on Chippewa creek. He served with the British, all told, thirty-six years. He is the hero of many exploits in the Niagara region, especially in the way of hunting. He died in 1841.

Reminiscences of David and John Price, written out by D. D. Babcock, formerly of Welland, Ont.

PRICE, CHRISTIAN. A Virginia rifleman, details of whose captivity are not known. He was held a prisoner at Fort Niagara in the latter part of the Revolutionary war, and in 1782 was associated with George Warner, Jr., *q. v.* Price seems to have been among the prisoners who were suspected of murdering several Indians at Fort Niagara at this time, among them a half-breed known as William Johnson, a reputed son of Sir William Johnson; his body was found one morning sticking head first in a rain-water barrel. Simms, in his "History of Schoharie County," relates

at length how Price disguised himself as a young woman, and was married to a simple but gallant fellow, one Patrick Tufts, employed by Col. Butler. The incident is in marked contrast to most of those that one finds in the history of Fort Niagara.

PRICE, (Mrs.) JOSEPH. A young Dutch woman, first name Lizzie, last name not known, and a Miss Haverstraw, were taken to Fort Niagara captive by a band of Senecas with whom was David Price (*q. v.*). The British ransomed the girls from the Indians, and they both remained in Canada, Lizzie subsequently marrying Joseph Price.

D. D. Babcock's narrative of David and John Price.

PROCTHY, SAMUEL. Aged 20. Made prisoner in 1778, where not known. Was sent from Fort Niagara to Montreal, in August, 1783.

Haldimand MSS.

RAMSAY, DAVID. In some respects the story of this Scotchman is the most remarkable of all of those who were brought prisoner to Fort Niagara. He was carried thither, not as an Indian captive, but as a prisoner of the British, to whom he was loyal. He had left Scotland when a youth, served the British till the close of the French War, and in 1763 settled on the Mohawk; engaged for a time with the Northwest Company of Montreal as a fur trader; but, being joined by his younger brother, George Ramsay, he fitted out at Schenectady to engage in the fur trade on his own account. It was apparently in 1771 that the Ramsays came with their large battoe and goods by way of Lake Ontario and the Niagara to Lake Erie, and thence along the north shore to Kettle Creek, on which stream they built a house and bartered for furs. In January, 1772, being beset by hostile Indians, David killed three of them; and a few weeks later, having been made prisoner, broke loose in a struggle with one of his captors and killed five more. With his brother, after great hardships, he crossed to the south shore of Lake Erie, then made for Fort Erie, the commandant of which, on hearing his story, confined him, then sent him under guard to Fort Niagara, where he was again imprisoned. When the Indians heard that David was there, they gathered in great numbers, and threatened to burn the fort if he were not handed over to them. He was sent to Montreal, and after fifteen months' imprisonment, was released. He served the British during the Revolutionary war, and returned to the Niagara, where, strange to tell, he was cordially received by the children and tribesmen of the Indians he had killed, and was given a grant of land in Upper Canada, four miles square. For attempting to smuggle furs into the United States his goods were seized; and when Patrick Campbell visited the Niagara in 1791 he found Ramsay employed as a guide and messenger for the officers at the fort and people of the neighborhood. He guided Campbell from Fort Niagara to the Genesee, in March, 1792, and on the way told him the story of his earlier adventures, which Campbell published in his "Travels" (Edinburgh, 1793), now an exceedingly rare book.

Ramsay's narrative is republished, with some account of Capt. Patrick Campbell and his descendants (some of them still living in Buffalo), in vol. vii of the Buffalo Historical Society Publications, 1904.

RAMSEY, JOHN. Deserted from the English (Mercer's company in the Virginia Regiment) at Great Meadows, July 3, 1754, the day before the battle; is said to have informed the French of the precarious situation of the English. The French confined him, telling him that if his intelligence proved true he should be rewarded, but if false, they would hang him. He has been blamed as the cause of the great defeat of July 4th. He was subsequently sent to Canada with some ten or more other English prisoners and deserters, in the custody of the Indians who had captured them during the battle. They probably reached Niagara before the end of July, going thence by boat to Montreal.

Stobo's "Memoirs."

RAMSEY (*Miss*) ——. Cousin of Jane (Mrs. Samuel) Campbell. The latter found her and her mother, Mrs. Ramsey, prisoners at Fort Niagara when she arrived there from Kanadesaga in June, 1779. The Ramseys were probably sent to Montreal with Mrs. Campbell, in June, 1780. It was to Miss Ramsey at Fort Niagara that Mrs. Campbell gave a cap which she had obtained from the Indian who at Cherry Valley had killed and scalped its wearer, their friend, Jane Wells.

Campbell's "History of Tryon County"; Ellet's "The Women of the American Revolution," and various local records.

RAMSEY (*Mrs.*) ——. Mother of the last-mentioned. They were together at Fort Niagara in June, 1779.

RANSOM (*Col.*) GEORGE PALMER. Enlisted at fourteen in his father's company and marched, 1777, to join Washington's army; fought at the Millstone, the Brandywine and Germantown, and wintered at Valley Forge. Young Ransom served under Capt. Simon Spalding, at Merwine's, four miles from Wyoming, on the day of the battle—July 3, 1778. He was with Sullivan in the campaign of 1779, and fought at Newtown. In December, 1780, he was taken prisoner by a party of Butler's Rangers and Indians; other captives were an old man named Harvey, and his son Elisha Harvey; Bullock, Frisby, Cady. They were all taken to Fort Niagara. In the summer of 1781 Ransom, Harvey and Frisby were sent to Montreal; in the fall removed to Prisoner's Island, 45 miles up the St. Lawrence, where were 166 American prisoners. Col. Ransom has left a narrative of his experiences at this place. In June, 1782, with two companions, he escaped, made his way home, rejoined his regiment and served out the war.

Miner's "History of Wyoming."

RAVENSBERG, (*Lieut.*) ——. Taken on the Ohio, Aug. 24, 1781. From Fort Niagara sent to Montreal. November, 1781.

Haldimand MSS.

RHEA, THOMAS. He was taken prisoner, May 5, 1791, at Cussawaga by a party of Delawares and Munsees. Of his companions, William Gregg was killed and scalped, Cornelius Van Horne made captive. They were carried to Sandusky "by way of the mouth of the Cayahoga river and the Moravian town." In the vicinity of Sandusky, the Indians made Rhea plant corn for seven days. Then, May 24th, his captors took alarm at the approach of troops, "destroyed the corn which had been planted, burned their houses and moved to the great crossing of the Miami or Ottawa river, called Sandusky. At this place (the Miami) were Colonels Brandt and McKee, with his son Thomas and Captains Bunbury and Silvie of the British troops." Rhea describes with considerable detail the condition of the British and Indians. Captain Silvie bought him from the Indians, and on June 4th—the King's birthday—he was sent to Detroit. Three days later he was sent to Fort Erie in the ship Dunmore, arriving four days later. He reached Pittsburgh, June 30, 1791. While captive on the Miami he saw a Mr. and Mrs. Dick of Pittsburgh, who had been brought there captive by the Wyandots; also a boy named Brittle. The fate of these prisoners is not learned.

Rhea's narrative, Penna. Archives, 2d series, vol. iv.

RIDDELL, ELIZA, and five children. Made captive in Virginia, June 24, 1780; arrived in Montreal from Fort Niagara, Oct. 4, 1782. Haldimand MSS.

RIDDELL, ISAAC. Presumably husband of Eliza Riddell. Taken with her and their five children, June 24, 1780, and sent with them from Fort Niagara to Montreal, October, 1782. Haldimand MSS.

RIDEOUT, THOMAS. Was taken captive by Shawanese in 1788, on the Ohio near present Portsmouth, O., carried across country to the Wabash, up that stream to Fort Miami (now Fort Wayne, Ind.), and thence to Detroit, where he found friends and freedom among the British officers. Early in the summer of 1788 he embarked with the 53d Regiment for Fort Erie; visited the Falls of Niagara, was well received at Fort Niagara by Col. Hunter, who then commanded a battalion of the 60th Regiment, and who afterwards became Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada and Commander; and reached Montreal about the middle of July, 1788. He became a resident of Canada and Surveyor-General of Upper Canada. He wrote the narrative of his captivity, the MS. of which, with numerous mementoes of him, is preserved by his descendants in Ottawa and elsewhere. His account of his capture, with a map, is published as an Appendix to Matilda Edgar's "Ten Years of Upper Canada," etc., Toronto, 1890.

ROBINSON (Lieut.) ——. Captured on the Ohio, Aug. 24, 1781. From Fort Niagara was sent to Montreal, reaching there Nov. 28, 1781.

Haldimand MSS.

ROOSEBOOM, JOHANNES. The first white man, not in French interest, known to have visited the Niagara. There are various spellings of the name of this Albany Dutchman who in 1685 led a party of traders into the country of the Ottawas, successfully eluding the French, who were sent by Denonville to the Niagara to stop them. The venture proved so successful that in the autumn of 1686 a larger expedition was fitted out. With twenty or more canoes Rooseboom made his way up the Mohawk, over the portage to Oneida lake and thence to Lake Ontario. He had instructions to winter among the Senecas, and in the spring to join a party to be sent out under Major Gregory (*q. v.*) and push on to Lake Huron. Rooseboom and party, in advance of Gregory, were intercepted on Lake Huron by a swarm of French and Indians under La Durantaye, taken prisoners and carried captive to Mackinac; from which point, reinforced by hordes of Western Indians, La Durantaye set out with his prisoners for Niagara. Near Detroit Gregory and party were encountered. They, too, were made prisoners, and plundered of their goods; and after the traders' rum had been consumed, the Dutch and English were all brought prisoners to Niagara; among their captors in the French interest being La Salle's Italian lieutenant, the Chevalier de Tonty—he of the iron hand; Du Lhut, for whom Duluth is named; and La Durantaye, former captain of the regiment of Chambellay and commandant at Mackinac. These captains were bringing the Western Indians to the Niagara rendezvous, to join Denonville in his great campaign against the Iroquois. The unexpected presence of the Dutch and English prisoners strengthened the cause of the French in the eyes of the Western tribes. The great party—1500, according to some of the captive Dutchmen, about 600, according to French reports, reached Niagara on June 27, 1687. There was then no fort there, though Denonville was to build one, a few weeks later. Rooseboom, Gregory and their men were sent to Cataraqui (present Kingston), where many of the prisoners, though probably not the leaders, were compelled to work on the defences. They were ultimately sent on to Montreal and Quebec; whence Rooseboom returned to Albany. The next year (1688) he married Gerritjs Coster; was an "assistant alderman" in 1629, alderman of the Second Ward in 1700, and lieutenant in Capt. Johannes Bleeker's company. He was "buried in the church," Beverwyck, now Albany, Jan. 25, 1745, aged about 84. Several representatives of the family have figured in New York State history.

ROSE, WILLIAM. The captivity of this youth presents an unusual feature: His mother urged him to submit to the Indians and go along with them to Fort Niagara. But she was a true patriot none the less. It was soon after the capture of Capt. Harper, that a band of Indians made an incursion into Colchester, then known by its Indian name of Papagonck, where lived one Rose with his family. The following particulars are recorded by Jay Gould in his "History of Delaware County":

"At the time the Indians approached the residence of Mr. Rose, his son William was engaged in constructing a canoe on

the bank of the river, a short distance from the house. He was shortly after surprised and taken prisoner, and was informed that he must accompany them to the home of the Red men in the West. He protested stoutly against accompanying them, but all in vain. The Indians also took three cows belonging to his father, which they drove before them, together with whatever the house contained, which seemed to them valuable. The first night the Indians with their prisoner encamped but a short distance from the residence of Mr. Rose, and in the morning one of the cows was found to have strayed for home. Young Rose was sent back after the missing cow alone, but with the injunction, 'that if he did not return immediately with the cow, they would return and murder them all, and burn their buildings.' The boy related to his mother all that had happened, and showed very little inclination to return to his captors; but knowing how well the Indians were apt to execute their threats, she insisted with heroic fortitude, upon his immediate return into captivity with the missing cow. He accompanied the Indians to Niagara, and after a prolonged captivity of three years, was once more permitted to return to his friends."

RUDELLE, JAMES. Taken by Capt. Bird at Licking Creek, Aug. 6, 1781; brought to Fort Niagara, and sent to Montreal, November, 1781.

RUNNELS, TIMOTHY. Taken prisoner by Brant near Fort Stanwix, spring of 1781; brought to Niagara; further details of his captivity unknown.

Priest's "Narrative of the Capture of David Ogden."

RUTHERFORD, JOHN. While on an exploring trip between Detroit and Mackinac, in May, 1763, under Capt. Charles Robson of the 77th Regiment, he was taken prisoner by the Chippewas. He saw the body of Capt. Robson served up at a feast; was made a slave, then adopted by a Chippewa, then sold to a Frenchman; was recaptured by Chippewas, taken before Pontiac, whom he served as interpreter; then carried off by an Ottawa chief, who delivered him to his former Indian master; he escaped, after many adventures reaching Detroit. He was then seventeen years old. Ten days later Major Gladwin sent him to Niagara on the schooner Beaver, to bring back goods. On the return voyage, a day's sail from Fort Schlosser, the vessel sprung a leak. With great exertion they grounded her and got ashore, only to be attacked by the Indians. This was on the south shore, somewhere between Buffalo and Erie. Several days later a relief party in boats reached them from Fort Niagara; Rutherford and his companions marched over the portage, as he says, "just three days after the Indians had defeated our troops in a rencontre. We saw about eighty dead bodies, unburied, scalped and sadly mangled." This refers to the massacre of the Devil's Hole, the scene of which Rutherford must have passed Sept. 16, 1763, reaching Fort Niagara on that or the following day, whence he went to New York. Rutherford's subsequent adventures are not known to be connected with our region.

Rutherford's Narrative, Trans. Can. Institute, Sept., 1893; Buf. Hist. Soc. Pubs., vol. v, pp. 2-4; vol. vi, pp. 27-29.

SALLING, JOHN PETER. A weaver of Williamsburg, Va., of whose remarkable captivity conflicting accounts exist. The data which are beyond doubt are to effect that about the year 1738 Salling and one Thomas Morlin, a peddler, trading from Williamsburg to Winchester, Va., set out on a tour of exploration into the country to the westward. They traveled up the Shenandoah, crossing the James and some of its branches and had reached the Roanoke, when Salling was taken captive by a party of Cherokees. His companion, Morlin the peddler, eluded them, and made out to reach Winchester, where he told what had happened. There is somewhat less certainty about what befel Salling. The most detailed and apparently most trustworthy account—Withers's precious "Chronicles of Border Warfare"—says that he was carried to what is now Tennessee, where he remained some years. While with a party of Cherokees on a buffalo hunt, a band of Illinois Indians surprised them, captured Salling from the Cherokees and carried him to Kaskaskia, where he was adopted into the family of a squaw whose son had been killed. Salling made excursions with his new captors below the mouth of the Arkansas, going once to the Gulf of Mexico. One account says he returned thence by vessel to Charleston, whence he made his way home; but Withers, who is seldom wrong in these old chronicles, says that Salling, on the lower Mississippi, fell in with a party of Spaniards who needed an interpreter and bought Salling from his Indian mother "for three strands of beads and a calumet." He attended them to the post at Crevecoeur, on the Illinois, "from which place he was conveyed to Fort Frontignac." The route, at this period, would have been by Fort Niagara, which he reached, apparently, about 1743 or '4; for at Frontenac he "was redeemed by the Governor of Canada, who sent him to the Dutch settlement in New York, whence he made his way home after an absence of six years." About 1850 Dr. Lyman C. Draper talked with Salling's descendants.

See, for various accounts of Salling's adventures, Kercheval's "History of the Valley of Virginia"; Du Pratz's "History of Louisiana" (London, 1774); Withers' "Chronicles of Border Warfare" (Clarksburg, Va., 1831); and especially the edition of Withers edited by R. G. Thwaites (Cincinnati, 1895).

SAWYER, ———. Same experience in captivity as COWLEY, ———, *q. v.*

SCOTT (*Lieut.*) ———. Taken on the Ohio, Aug. 24, 1781. From Fort Niagara sent to Montreal, November, 1781.

Haldimand MSS.

SCRAYSTOBECK, PAGGY. Aged 16. Taken at some unspecified point in New York, in 1782; shipped off from Fort Niagara to Montreal, with ten others, in August, 1782. It is not unlikely that the name is misspelled, but so it is written in the return of prisoners preserved among the Haldimand papers.

SERVIER, (Capt.) ———. Captain in the regiment of Royal Rouissillon. Prisoner of war at Fort Niagara, July 25, 1759, with Pouchot, *q. v.*

SHEAK, CHRISTIAN. Details of captivity not known. Was sent from Fort Niagara to Montreal, April 23, 1781, with nineteen other prisoners.

Haldimand MSS.

SHEAK, ELIZA. Case so far as known same as Christian Sheak, above.

SHOEMAKER, (Mrs.) JACOB, and her ten-year-old son were captured in the vicinity of Fort Dayton, Schoharie valley, in August, 1780. They were taken to Canada, apparently by way of Fort Niagara, as a large party of other prisoners, the Vroomans, Henry Hager and others, taken in the Schoharie valley at this time, are known to have been brought to Niagara. Sir John Johnson paid \$7 to ransom Mrs. Shoemaker.

SHRIVER, JOHN. Taken at some Pennsylvania point, April 16, 1778, with Sarah and Sarah, probably wife and child. Sent from Fort Niagara to Montreal with many other American prisoners, October, 1782.

Haldimand MSS.

SHRIVER, SARAH. Taken with John Shriver, and sent from Fort Niagara to Montreal with him.

SHRIVER, SARAH (2d). Apparently child of John and Sarah Shriver.

SIMONTON, JOHN. A lad of eight years when he was made captive by the Indians in the upper Juniata valley, in the fall of 1780. The circumstances of his capture were peculiarly atrocious, involving the murder of the family of Matthew Dean, with whom young Simonton was at the time. His father, Capt. Simonton, made assiduous search for him, going as far west as Chillicothe, O., to attend a treaty, and offering £100 for his recovery; but without getting trace of him. In the War of 1812, two—perhaps three—other sons of Capt. Simonton served on the Niagara in companies commanded by Capts. Allison, Canan and Vandevender. While these companies were encamped in Cattaraugus, N. Y., soldiers saw there a white man, who had an Indian family and had become one with the Senecas. A strong resemblance was remarked between him and the Simontons. On being questioned he said his name was John "Sims," that he was carried off from the Juniata when a child, and recalled other things associated with the Simonton family, leaving no doubt as to his identity. He met his brothers, but while talking to them, "his wife took him away, and he was not seen again by them while they remained there." Like "White Chief"—the father of Seneca White—Thomas Armstrong, Mary Jemison, Rebecca Hempferman and a few others, brought to our region captive before the era of settlement, his later history is merged in the scantily-recorded annals of his adoptive people.

Jones, "History of the Juniata Valley."

"SIMS," JOHN. *See* SIMONTON, JOHN.

SKENANDOAH. Oneida Indian, born at Conostoga on the Susquehanna about 1706; in the early years of the Revolution he lived at Oneida Castle, 35 miles west of Herkimer. In the winter of 1780 he went with two companions to Fort Niagara "under pretence of relieving the sufferings of those Oneidas who were prisoners at that place." They were bearers of a friendly letter from the Oneida chiefs to the commandant. Mr. Dean, U. S. interpreter, states that the journey was undertaken by the advice of Gov. Clinton, Gen. Schuyler and the commandant at Fort Stanwix, who supplied necessities for the journey. At Fort Niagara Skenandoah and his comrades were suspected, taken prisoners and confined three months in irons. They were released after having made promise to remain with the British during the war. Skenandoah and one of his companions did so, returning to their nation after peace was declared; the other companion appears to have deceived the British, for he hastened to Albany with valuable information regarding Fort Niagara. Skenandoah died in 1816, said to have reached the age of 110 years. He was a friend of the missionary Kirkland, and a monument is erected to him at Hamilton College.

Schoolcraft, "History of the Indian Tribes," etc., vol. v, Philadelphia, 1855.

SKYLES, JACOB. While taking a cargo of goods down the Ohio, spring of 1790, in company with Col. George Clendiner, Charles Johnston, and others, he was decoyed ashore and made prisoner; carried to an Indian town on the Miami, where he was compelled to run the gauntlet; was condemned to the stake, but escaped at night, swam the Miami, stole a horse and set out, as he supposed, in the direction of Kentucky, but got lost, traveled north, came into a Miami town, where he sought out a trader, who helped him to hasten by boat down the river; he overtook a trading party, who took him to Detroit, whence, after some days of concealment, he was sent down Lake Erie, and by way of Fort Niagara on East. He subsequently settled in Kentucky, and on the bank of the Ohio, near where he had been taken in 1790, recovered some \$200 in gold which he had buried there.

"Narrative . . . Capture . . . of Charles Johnston," etc., N. Y., 1827.

SLOCUM, FRANCES. Was less than five years old when she was taken captive, Nov. 2, 1778, at Wilkes-Barré, Pa. Her father, Jonathan Slocum, a Quaker, escaped at the time, but in December was shot and scalped. Frances was brought into the Seneca country of Western New York and to Fort Niagara before her adoption by the Senecas. In 1784, shortly after the peace, two of her brothers came to Fort Niagara in quest of her, but learned nothing. In 1789 her mother came to the fort—riding horseback 300 miles through the wilderness—but returned to her home in the Wyoming valley with no clue of the child, who at the time was in one of the near-by Seneca villages. In 1791 a brother, Giles Slocum,

came to Buffalo Creek and the Niagara with Col. Thomas Proctor; but he too failed to get trace of his sister, who was then living with a Seneca family at Cornplanter's town on the Allegheny. In 1794, four Slocum brothers together devoted a summer to the search, visiting Fort Niagara and Detroit, but the Indians kept Frances without discovery. Her family knew nothing of her whereabouts until August, 1837, fifty-nine years after her capture, when a letter in the Lancaster (Pa.) *Intelligencer*, written by Col. Geo. W. Ewing of Logansport, Ind., and dated a year and a half previous, mentioned an aged white woman then living in that vicinity among the Miamis, whose father's name was Slocum. Her brothers Joseph and Isaac, then still living, went to Logansport and identified the woman as their lost sister.

Many early accounts of Frances Slocum's captivity are superseded by the volume, "Frances Slocum, the Lost Sister of Wyoming," compiled and written by her grand-niece, Martha Bennett Phelps. (N. Y., 1905.) It gives Frances' own recollections of her captivity, and other related matter of interest. Frances herself said: "I was adopted by Tuck Horse [the Delaware who had stolen her] and his wife, in the place of a daughter they had lost a short time before, and they gave me her name, We-let-a-wash. . . . In the spring we went to Sandusky . . . but in the fall we came back, and we lived one year at Niagara. I recollect that the Indians were afraid to cross above the Falls, on account of the rapidity of the water. I also recollect that they had a machine by which they raised goods from below the Falls, and let things go down [no doubt the incline built by the English at Lewiston heights]. . . . I was married to a Delaware by the name of Little Turtle. . . . I was afterward married to a Miami, a chief." Of her four children, two boys died young; one daughter married Capt. Brouillette, of part French ancestry, a member of the Miami tribe; and the other daughter married an Indian. Frances died March 9, 1847, and is buried in the Indian cemetery near Reserve, Ind. Numerous relatives and descendants are living. A monument was unveiled at her tomb, with ceremonies, in 1900.

Published statements attributed to the late Gen. Ely S. Parker are to the effect that his great-grandmother was a captive white woman named Slocum; that she married a French officer at Fort Niagara, "where her Indian relatives had taken her on one of their trading expeditions. The Indians were at the fort for some time, and when they were ready to leave she did not want to leave her French husband, but her Indian relatives compelled her to return with them to Alleghany," and there a child was born to her who became grandmother of Gen. Parker. By the aid of a Quaker named Jacobs, who sought to return her to her family, the Slocum woman escaped down the Allegheny, with her child; the Indians pursued and retook her, but finally took only her child back with them, permitting her to rejoin her family. The child married _____ Parker, and had three sons, Samuel, William and another. She died at Tonawanda, between 1821 and

1825. Her son William, who was the father of Gen. Ely S. Parker, died in April, 1864, aged about 75 years. He was in the War of 1812, and was wounded in the battle of Chippewa. His brother Samuel died about 1879 or 1880, aged about 90.

While many of these statements relating to the Parkers are beyond question, it is impossible to reconcile this account of Frances Slocum's marriage to a French officer with the account of her captivity and Indian marriages which are preserved by her descendants. Gen. Parker's autobiography (Buffalo Historical Society Publications, vol. viii, p. 528) says that he "was born of poor but honest Indian parents in Genesee County." If one of his grandmothers had been a white woman (child of the French officer and Quaker Frances), Gen. Parker would probably have mentioned it. He is usually spoken of as a full-blooded Seneca; yet some of the Parkers who claim relationship to him, allege that Frances Slocum was his ancestor. True, there may have been another captive white woman named Slocum. Gen. Parker himself once wrote: "The name Parker was my father's English name, given him by an English captive taken perhaps during the Revolution, and who was adopted into my father's immediate family. An Indian name was given the captive and as a return compliment the captive conferred his civilized name upon my father and his brother. The children of the brothers adopted the English name, but it made no change in the use of their Indian names."

SMITH (*Col.*) JAMES. Early in the year 1759 he arrived at Fort Niagara from Detroit, in an elm-bark canoe with two Indians; and passed on to Montreal. He was born in Franklin Co., Pa., in 1737; was taken prisoner by the Indians in 1755, near Bedford, Pa., was adopted by a Caughnewago family, and lived with them, most of the time in the neighborhood of Detroit, Sandusky and along the south shore of Lake Erie. He was at Fort Niagara, on his way to Montreal, where he was exchanged in 1760.

"An account of the Remarkable Occurrences in the Life and Travels of Col. James Smith . . . during his captivity with the Indians, in the years 1755, '56, '57, '58 and '59 . . . Lexington: Printed by John Bradford, on Main Street, 1799." 8vo., pp. 88.

Exceedingly rare. Other editions, Philadelphia, 1834; Cincinnati, 1870. The principal facts of his captivity are also contained in his second work, "A Treatise on the Mode and Manner of Indian War . . . Some abstracts selected from his Journal, while in Captivity," etc.; 12mo., pp. 1-59. Paris, Kentucky, printed by Joel R. Lyle, 1812. *See also* Jones' "History of the Juniata Valley."

One curious result of Col. Smith's captivity was a memorial which he addressed, March 10, 1777, to the Executive Council of "the Common Welth of Pennsylvania," in which he urged the adoption of the Indian method of fighting—which, he had learned from experience, "has a surprising effect of Deminishing the numbers of the Enemy, who are unacquainted with it." "Your

memorialist having been Prisoner nearly five years among the Indians, and many years acquainted with thire method of fighting, while engaged in Repelling thire invasions of our frunteers," he advocated the organization of "a Battalion of Riflemen to anoy the Enemy on thire marches," and pledged himself, if the council would permit, "in a very Short time [to] Raise a Battalion of Choise men, good marks men, and well acquainted with the Business, who should think it thire honour to Render thire counterey an Essential Sarvice at this Critical Conjunction of Publick affairs." I find no record that this apparently practical suggestion was acted upon.

SMITH, JOHN, of Mercer's Company, Virginia regiment, surrendered to the French at Great Meadows, July 4, 1754. Sent to Canada in custody of the Indian who took him; left Fort Du Quesne a few days after the battle, following the route by way of the French posts to Fort Niagara, thence down the lake to Montreal. Stobo's "Memoirs."

SMITH, JOSEPH. Captured when a youth by the Indians at Cherry Valley, November, 1778. Was probably taken that fall to Fort Niagara. In the summer of 1781 he was living with an Indian family at Little Beard's Town. There Horatio Jones, also a captive, first met him in 1781, when began their friendship of many years. In 1786 Smith built a log house on the present site of Geneva, N. Y., where his friend Jones had already established himself. He served as interpreter at Indian land sales, moved to Canandaigua in 1789, and in 1792 shared in the conduct of a party of Indian chiefs to Philadelphia for conference with the Government.

"The Life of Horatio Jones," Buffalo Historical Society Publications, vol. vi.

SNYDER, JOHN. Known after the Revolution as "Schoharie John." Captured July 26, 1782, by the tory captain Adam Crysler and his party of whites and Indians, some twenty-five in all. Crysler at this time visited several settlements in the Schoharie valley, Snyder being taken near Beaver Dam, not far from the junction of the Schoharie and the Cobleskill. The second day the old southwest path was taken, Peter Zimmer and George Warren, Jr., being fellow prisoners. At Fort Niagara, or subsequently, Snyder enlisted in the British service—as his friends afterward claimed, that he might have an opportunity to desert and return home.

SOLVIGNAC, ———. Officer in the regiment of Bearn, prisoner of war at Fort Niagara, July 25, 1759, with Pouchot, *q. v.*

SPENCER, OLIVER M. Son of Col. Oliver Spencer of Columbia, O. Taken prisoner in July, 1792, near Fort Washington (Cincinnati), Ohio, being not quite twelve years old. He was taken to the Miami, where after some months a prisoner named Wells saw him, learned of his family at Fort Washington, and sent report of the lad to Col. Wilkeson at Fort Washington. Letters were obtained through the influence of General Washington, from the

British Minister at Philadelphia, to Col. Simcoe, Governor of Upper Canada; and an agent was dispatched by the prisoner's friends to Fort Niagara. Young Spencer spent the winter of 1792-93 in the Shawanese villages, learning in February that an agent had come to Detroit to release him; Col. Elliott, the British Indian agent, paid the Indians \$120, and he was taken to Detroit, reaching there March 3d; at the end of March he sailed on the sloop *Felicity*, reaching Fort Erie April 15th; and on April 17, 1793, he reached Fort Niagara and was welcomed by Lieutenant Hill, of the 50th Regiment. After some days, with Nathaniel Gorham and a colored servant, Spencer traveled on horse-back to Canandaigua, and in June proceeded to New York, meeting friends at Elizabethtown, N. J. In September, 1794, he returned to his parents at Columbia, O.

"Narrative of O. M. Spencer; comprising an account of his captivity among the Mohawk Indians, in North America," etc.; London, 1836; 2d ed. London, 1842; 3d ed., N. Y., 1854. Originally written for the *Western Christian Advocate*.

STACIA (*Lt.-Col.*), ———. Taken at Cherry Valley, Nov. 11, 1778. Molly Brant had a deadly aversion to him. "She resorted to the Indian method of dreaming," says Campbell, in his "Annals of Tryon County," describing Col. Stacia's captivity at Fort Niagara. "She informed Col. Butler that she dreamed she had the Yankee's head, and that she and the Indians were kicking it about the fort. Col. Butler ordered a small keg of rum to be painted and given to her. This for a short time appeased her, but she dreamed a second time that she had the Yankee's head, with his hat on, and she and the Indians were kicking it about the fort for a football. Col. Butler ordered another keg of rum to be given to her, and then told her, decidedly, that Col. Stacia should not be given up to the Indians."

STEVENS, NICHOLAS. William Prentup wrote to Sir Wm. Johnson from Fort Ontario (Oswego), Aug. 27, 1763: "Yesterday arrived here the schooner *Mercury* from Niagara with Jacobus van Eps and Nicholas Stevens on board with some other traders who had been taken prisoners this spring. . . ."

Johnson MSS., State Library, Albany.

STEVENS, JAMES. One of Capt. Alexander Harper's party, brought to Fort Niagara in 1780 by Brant.

STEVENS, NEHEMIAH. Same experience as Andrew McBriar, *q. v.*

STOBO, (*Major*) ROBERT. Not an Indian prisoner, but a hostage of the French, and as such brought to Fort Niagara, *en route* to Quebec. Born in Glasgow, 1727; was made captain in a Virginia regiment, March, 1754; with the British and Colonial troops which were taken by the French at Great Meadows, July 4th; with a companion, Jacob Van Braam, Stobo was delivered up as hostage, the other prisoners being allowed to return home. The twain were sent to Fort Du Quesne, of which Stobo made a plan and sent it to Gen. Washington. The "Memoirs" of Stobo state

that "the French removed their hostage from one fort to another, though the whole chain of them, from Fort Du Quesne down to Quebec, which is about 300 leagues, with this advantage to himself, that he had liberty to go and come as he pleased all about the country." Stobo left Fort Du Quesne Sept. 20, 1754. His progress familiarized him with Forts Venango, Le Boeuf, and Presqu' Isle, Fort Niagara and its dependencies. His subsequent adventures include episodes of gallantry (he was a ladies' man) and of bold undertakings. He twice escaped from prison in Quebec; joined Wolfe, and after many hazards, reached Williamsburgh, Va., and received "the warmest thanks of the whole Assembly of Virginia." Stobo is said to have been Smollet's original for *Captain Lismahago* in "The Adventures of Humphrey Clinker"; not unlikely, for Smollet and Stobo were friends. It is a pity there is not a worthy record of so picturesque a character. Our principal source of information, the "Memoirs of Major Robert Stobo, of the Virginia Regiment," by Neville B. Craig (Pittsburgh, 1854), is conspicuous for its omission of the historically-essential, and is most absurdly written.

STOCKTON, ISABEL. A Dutch girl, taken captive Oct. 1, 1757, at Winchester, Va. She was found among other prisoners at Fort Niagara when the British captured it, July 25, 1759.

N. Y. *Mercury*, Aug. 20, 1759.

STOKELY (*Capt.*) ———. Taken on the Ohio, Aug. 24, 1781. Brought to Fort Niagara, and sent thence to Montreal, where he arrived with thirty others, Nov. 28, 1781.

Haldimand MSS.

STOWITS, MICHAEL. Made captive with Rudolf Keller, *q. v.*

STROPE, SEBASTIAN. Numerous members of his family taken captive at Wysox, Bedford Co., Pa., May, 1778, and after detention at various places, carried to Fort Niagara. Among them was Strobe's daughter, Mrs. Jane Whittaker, *q. v.*

STUERDFAGES, DANIEL (name doubtful, but so printed). Of Mackay's company, Virginia regiment; wounded in the right arm at battle of Great Meadows, July 4, 1754; taken prisoner by the Indians, and sent with his Indian captors by way of the French posts to Fort Niagara and thence to Canada.

Stobo's "Memoirs."

SULLIVAN, NATHANIEL. Taken captive on the Potomac, Sept. 25, 1758. Found a prisoner at Fort Niagara when the British took it, July 25, 1759.

N. Y. *Mercury*, Aug. 20, 1759.

SWART, PETER. Taken captive in the Schoharie valley in the summer of 1778, by the treachery of a companion, Abraham Becker, apparently a British sympathizer, for he betrayed Swart and one Frederick Shafer into the hands of a party of Indians. Shafer was taken to a "Canadian prison," locality not stated, returning to Schoharie after the war. Swart was taken to Niagara, then

by Western Indians beyond Detroit, where he took an Indian wife and adopted the Indian life.

Simms, "History of Schoharie County, and Border Wars of New York," Albany, 1845.

SWEETLAND, LUKE (name sometimes printed "Swetland"). He bore arms in defense of Wyoming, July, 1778, and soon after joined the company commanded by Capt. Spalding. He was taken prisoner with Joseph Blanchard, near Nanticoke, where they had gone to mill, Aug. 24, 1778, and both were carried to Kanadesaga; possibly also to Fort Niagara. Sweetland was rescued by the army under Sullivan in 1779.

TAGGART, ———. Carried prisoner to Fort Niagara in the summer of 1779, by a party of British and Indians under command of a Loyalist named McDonald, and the Seneca brave Hiakato, the latter husband of Mary Jemison, "the White Woman of the Genesee." Taggart, who was one of many taken at Freeling's Fort on the west branch of the Susquehanna, was in the encampment at the mouth of the Tioga at the time of Capt. Rowland Monteur's death, and was, plausibly, a witness of his burial. Our knowledge that the modern village of Painted Post derived its name from the planting of a painted stake at Monteur's grave, apparently rests on the testimony of Taggart, who after his release from captivity narrated these events to Benjamin Patterson, a famous hunter and pioneer of Steuben County, and to others. Details of Taggart's experiences at Fort Niagara are lacking.

McMasters' "History of the Settlement of Steuben Co.," (Bath, N. Y., 1853), in which the above statements occur, gives the date of Taggart's captivity as 1779; which does not accord with other accounts of Monteur's death, stated to have occurred in September, 1781.

TANNER, JACOB. Born at Lancaster, Pa., December, 1745; taken captive near Currytown, N. Y., with his neighbor Frederick Olman (Utman), John Lewis and others. So far as known shared the experiences of John Lewis (*q. v.*). He was first taken to Fort Hunter, thence to Fort Niagara, Sackett's Harbor, "Island of Despair" in the St. Lawrence, and Montreal; released with John Lewis and others at Boston, "whence he walked home, 240 miles, and found his house burned by the Indians." He subsequently lived at Sharon, N. Y., and April 18, 1833, applied for a pension, which was granted. He married Maryte Lewis, sister of John Lewis.

Tanner's pension record, in possession of Mr. John C. Pearson, Cleveland, O.; Simms, "Frontiersmen of New York."

TANNER, JACOB. So far as known, shared the experiences of Rudolf Keller, *q. v.*

TEABOUT, CORNELIUS. One of the party of fourteen, headed by Capt. Alexander Harper, taken prisoners by Brant near Harpersfield in the Schoharie valley, April 7, 1780. See HARPER, ALEXANDER, and PATCHIN, FREEGIFT.

THORP, EZRA. Taken by Brant on the Schoharie, in Capt. Alexander Harper's party, April 7, 1780. Experiences same as those of Harper and Freegift Patchin, *q. v.*

THORP (*Lieut.*) HENRY. Same experience in captivity, so far as known, as his brother Ezra. See HARPER, ALEXANDER, and PATCHIN, FREEGIFT.

TRACY, (*Lieut.*) ———. Taken at Cherry Valley and carried prisoner to Niagara.

Mentioned in Priest's "True Narrative of the Capture of David Ogden," Lansingburgh, 1840.

TRIPP, ISAAC. In the fall of 1778, after the battle of Wyoming, he set out from the vicinity of Wyoming, with his grandfather, Isaac Tripp, Timothy Kies and a Mr. Hocksey, to go to Capouse, now Providence, to see if they could find anything left of their effects. A party of Indians and Tories surprised them, killed Kies and Hocksey, told the old man Tripp to go home, and took young Isaac with them to Niagara.

TURNER, JAMES. A young man captured by Brant and party at Schoharie, with the Vroomans, Aug. 9, 1780. He was brought to Fort Niagara. No further mention of him is found, but he was probably sent to Montreal in the fall of 1780, with other captives from Schoharie, and exchanged.

TURNER, MORRIS. See KILGORE, RALPH.

UTMAN, FREDERICK. A fellow prisoner of Rudolf Keller, *q. v.*

UTMAN, NICHOLAS. Made captive, with his brothers Peter and William, and several neighbors, at Cobleskill, N. Y., September, 1781. Simms ("Schoharie County") says they were carried over "the usual southwestern route to Niagara."

UTMAN, PETER. See UTMAN, NICHOLAS.

UTMAN, WILLIAM. See UTMAN, NICHOLAS.

VAN BRAAM (*Capt.*) JACOB. Given by the English as hostage to the French, after the battle of Great Meadows, July 4, 1754. He appears to have been sent, with Capt. (later Major) Robert Stobo, by way of Fort Niagara to Montreal or Quebec.

VAN CAMPEN (*Maj.*) MOSES. Born in Hunterdon Co., N. J., Jan. 21, 1757. Taken prisoner on Fishing Creek, Pa., spring of 1780, and escaped, he and a companion killing five of their captors and wounding a sixth. Recaptured April 16, 1782, on Bald Eagle creek; carried to Caneadea, where he ran the gauntlet; thence taken by Lieut. Nellis to Fort Niagara, by way of Buffalo creek. He was offered a British commission, but refused it, and after a short detention at the fort was sent to Montreal. After many adventures he reached his Pennsylvania home, January, 1783. In 1796 he settled at what is now Almond, Allegany Co., N. Y.; in 1801 visited Buffalo (then New Amsterdam) and Niagara Falls; in subsequent years was active as a pioneer surveyor, held

numerous minor offices, removed to Dansville, N. Y., 1831, and to Almond 1848, dying there, Oct. 15, 1849.

"Life and Times of Major Moses Van Campen," etc., by J. Niles Hubbard; Dansville, 1841; 2d ed. revised and supplemented by Jno. S. Minard, Fillmore, N. Y., 1893.

VAN DE BERGH, DAVID. Taken in April, 1780, probably in the Mohawk valley; was a prisoner at Fort Niagara in May of that year.

Haldimand MSS.

VAN DER HEYDER, DYRICK. Shared the adventures of Johannes Rooseboom and the Harmetsens, *q. v.*

VAN EPPS, EVART. Made captive near the present village of Fultonville, N. Y., Oct. 24, 1781, by Maj. Ross and party. He was brought to Fort Niagara with Rudolf Keller (*q. v.*) and numerous other captives; was transferred and exchanged, reaching home some eighteen months after being taken.

VAN EPS, JACOBUS. See STEVENS, NICHOLAS.

VELT family. Details of captivity not known. Arrived in Montreal from Fort Niagara, Oct. 4, 1782.

Haldimand MSS.

VERNEY, (*Capt.*) OLIVER DE LA ROCHE. Captain of the Marine. Prisoner of war at Fort Niagara, July 25, 1759, with Pouchot, *q. v.*

VILAR, (*Capt.*) ———. Captain in the regiment of La Salle. Prisoner of war at Fort Niagara, July 25, 1759, with Pouchot, *q. v.*

VINCENT, BENJAMIN. Taken captive at the age of ten or eleven years, in the attack on Freeland's Fort, Warrior Run, four miles from present Watsonstown, Pa., July 29, 1779. A brother, three years older, who was taken at the time, attempting to escape, the Indians tomahawked him, "tore off his scalp and slapped it, dripping with blood, in Ben's face. Heedless of his own fate, Ben sprang at the murderer and kicked and bit in a frenzy of passion. His anger seemed to please the savages; they laughed at him, called him 'good fighter,' and finally bound him to keep him quiet." The captives, including Ben and young Michael Freeland (*q. v.*) were brought to Buffalo Creek, where they were made to run the gauntlet. "When Ben's turn came to make the run he suddenly picked up two stones as large as goose-eggs, clapped them sharply together, and then, lifting them in plain view and ready to be hurled at the first offender, with defiant air and blazing eyes he marched through the lines of young Indians, not one of whom ventured to strike him." His conduct won the approval of the warriors, one of whom adopted him, and in his family Ben lived, well treated, for three years. He was one of the first, if not the very first, of white residents in Buffalo. The chronicler of this captivity says that although the Indians admired his bold spirit, they never fully trusted him, believing he would escape if opportunity offered. His usual companion was a young Indian, with whom he sometimes quarreled. "One day, fishing in Buffalo creek, one of these disputes grew to a struggle in which

the anger of each ran high. Looking about for any kind of weapon Ben observed the skeleton of a horse, and breaking away from his antagonist and seizing a heavy bone, with a single blow on the head he felled him to the ground." Ben dragged the dying Indian to the creek, "threw him in and stood upon him till he was not only dead, but till he pressed the body into the soft mud of the bottom so deep it would stay there out of sight." He then returned to the lodge, accounted plausibly for the Indian boy's absence, and in the night, having secured a gun, ammunition and some dried meat, started for the Niagara river. He hoped to find a canoe along the bank; instead, he encountered an Indian from the village on Buffalo creek, who demanded what he was doing there with a gun that did not belong to him? The reply did not satisfy the Indian, who tried to seize the gun; in the scuffle, Ben shot him through the breast, dead. "Here was a double necessity for flight; the river must be crossed, and at once. The gun, too heavy to swim with, was hid in a hollow tree. Wrapping his scanty clothing in a bundle, which he tied on his head, Ben struck out for the Canadian shore. He was a good swimmer and life was at stake; with no haste, no nervous beating of the water, but with a strong, steady stroke and unflinching courage, he swam on and made the crossing." The narrative (which is here much condensed) has at this point some obvious discrepancies. It relates how he walked down the river, and "at the head of Lake Ontario" found a British sloop. It was probably at the outlet of the Niagara; how he evaded the officers at the fort is not stated. "Straight to the captain (of the sloop) he went, told his story and asked protection. He was promptly refused. The captain didn't 'care a d—n what becomes of a rebel and the slayer of Indian allies of our soldiers. I hope the redskins will get you. At least I won't help you off, and run the risk of trouble for giving help to the enemy.'" Later, with the connivance of sailors, he swam to the vessel, was helped aboard and kept out of sight until she was well under way for Montreal. When the captain did see him, he angrily boxed his ears and set him to washing decks. Approaching Montreal, the sailors advised him to swim ashore, and thus perhaps escape being handed over to the authorities. This he did, and ultimately found work with a kind Jew. One day, while carrying a small iron kettle, he suddenly met with his adoptive father and three other Indians from Buffalo Creek. They hemmed him in on all sides except towards the river, and that way Ben ran, with the little iron kettle on his head; leaped into the river, followed by a flight of arrows. He swam as far as he could under water, then rose to the surface. "With his first breath an arrow plunged into the water a foot to the right of his head; but a tomahawk, better aimed, shattered the kettle to pieces. The blow dazed him for an instant, but the little kettle had saved his life for the moment." He was pulled aboard a vessel by sailors who had witnessed the pursuit, and given protection by a captain who admired his pluck. Some days later he was sent down Lake Champlain and the Hudson, to New York. Thirty years later, while keeping a hotel near Orange, N. J., he received a letter from his old fellow-

captive, "Mike" Freeland. The letter said that living near Freeland, in Western New York, was the Indian who had killed Vincent's brother. About a month later Vincent appeared at Freeland's door and asked where he could find the Indian. He was told the Indian had gone fishing; and at once took after him with his gun. Soon after, the Indian, unsuspecting, came home and was told that Ben Vincent was looking for him; whereupon the Indian took his gun and disappeared in the woods. Two days later Ben returned to Freeland's house, and made inquiries, obviously studied, about the Indian. The Indian never reappeared, and Vincent went back to New Jersey; but whether he had three Indian lives to account for, or only two, he never told.

The foregoing is condensed from a long narrative told by Richard Peterson, Vincent's nephew, printed in the *Los Angeles (Cal.) Herald*, about 1900. Some corroborative facts regarding the captivity of Vincent and Freeland are also given in "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania."

VROOMAN, BARNEY. Son of Capt. Tunis Vrooman, captive with Capt. Ephraim Vrooman, *q. v.*

VROOMAN, BARTHOLOMEW. Son of Ephraim Vrooman, *q. v.*

VROOMAN, (Lieut.) EPHRAIM. Of the raid of the Schoharie valley settlements by Brant and some 70 or more braves, in August, 1780, there are numerous though not altogether consistent accounts. It was a retaliatory and most effective stroke for the devastation worked by Sullivan the year before in the Seneca lake and Genesee country. Of the captivity of Lieut. Ephraim Vrooman, and many of his relatives and neighbors, the most detailed account is to be found in Simms' "History of Schoharie County." Several of the Vroomans were killed on August 9th, the day of the attack. On the next day, several of the women and children who had been taken prisoners, were released by Brant, and sent back to Schoharie. One account says that Rosanna Vrooman, a young woman, cousin of Ephraim, was kept with the prisoners for some days, then stripped of her clothing, and entirely naked, with the child of a murdered mother in her arms, was sent back to the despoiled settlement. The more detailed narrative records the murder of the wife and two youngest children of Lt. Vrooman, and the release by Brant of all the women except the wife of Simon Vrooman. Others of the captive band were Simon Vrooman and Jacob his son; Ephraim's two sons, Bartholomew and Josias E.; Tunis, John, Barney and Peter Vrooman, four sons of Capt. Tunis Vrooman, who was tomahawked in the attacks; Henry Hager, aged 80; two Germans, Creshiboom and Hoffman; John Daly, Thomas Meriness, James Turner, and others, names not known; and several negro slaves. A party of some 30 or more captives, they were brought to Fort Niagara by way of Oquaga on the Susquehanna (near Binghamton), and the Genesee valley. In the fall of 1780 all but Meriness appear to have been exchanged at Montreal.

VROOMAN, JACOB. See **VROOMAN, EPHRAIM.**

VROOMAN, JOHN. *See* VROOMAN, EPHRAIM.

VROOMAN, JOSIAS E. Son of Ephraim Vrooman of Schoharie, whose captivity he shared, for the most part. When the prisoners from Schoharie were being brought to Fort Niagara, Josias, with others claimed by the Senecas, was separated from the main party, on the Susquehanna, and sent up the Chemung valley with a party of warriors. "In the Genesee valley he saw a stake planted in the ground, some five or six feet high, which was painted red and sharpened at the top, on which was resting a fleshless skull." The Indians told the prisoners it was the skull of Lieut. Boyd, who was killed in that vicinity the year before, and each of them was compelled to hold it. (Simms, "History of Schoharie Co.") Josias survived his captivity and reached home after an absence of a little more than a year.

VROOMAN, PETER. *See* VROOMAN, EPHRAIM.

VROOMAN, SIMON. Experiences like those of Ephraim Vrooman, until near Fort Niagara, when he was so badly injured by Indian assaults, that he died soon after, apparently at the fort.

VROOMAN, (Mrs.) SIMON. Experiences like those of Ephraim and her husband. Becoming ill in the Genesee valley, she was left behind at a Seneca town. Relatives afterward paid a ransom and got her home.

VROOMAN, TUNIS. A young lad, whose father, Capt. Tunis Vrooman, was tomahawked by Brant's Indians at Schoharie, Aug. 9, 1780. Besides prisoners and other plunder, that party took from the Schoharie valley some ninety good horses, which they brought to Fort Niagara. Among them was a stallion of which the Indians were afraid, and which only young Tunis could manage. He was allowed to ride the spirited horse most of the way to Niagara, and thus was exempt from the usual abuse in passing through Indian villages, nor was he required to run the gauntlet. All the other prisoners of that party, except Mrs. Simon Vrooman, walked the whole distance from Schoharie to Niagara.

VROOMAN, (Capt.) WALTER. In October, 1780, he was sent by Gen. Van Rensselaer, with a company of fifty men, from Fort Schuyler to Oneida lake, to destroy the boats which had been concealed by Col. John Johnson and Brant, then raiding the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys. They were all taken prisoners, Johnson having been apprised of the move, it is said, by one of Vrooman's own men. The prisoners were taken to Montreal, by what route is uncertain, but as a general thing at that time American captives, taken in the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys, were first sent to Fort Niagara. It is recorded that Walter Vrooman was "incarcerated and did not see the sun again for two long years."

Simms' "Schoharie County."

VROOMAN, ———. Taken captive by Brant at the massacre of Cherry Valley. After the Revolution, Brant told John Fonda, at his house near Caughnawaga, that most of the atrocities at Cherry Valley were chargeable to Walter Butler, and related the

following incident: Among the captives made by Brant, was a man named Vrooman, with whom he had a previous acquaintance. He concluded to give Vrooman his liberty, and after they had proceeded several miles on their journey, he sent him back about two miles, alone, to procure some birch bark for him; expecting of course to see no more of him. After several hours Vrooman came hurrying back with the bark, which the chieftain no more wanted than he did a pair of goggles. Brant said he sent his prisoner back on purpose to afford him an opportunity to escape, but that he was so big a fool he did not know it; and that consequently he was compelled to take him along to Canada. Many of the Cherry-valley prisoners were brought to Fort Niagara.

Simms' "History of Schoharie County, and Border Wars of New York."

WALLACE (*Quartermaster*) ———. Taken prisoner with seven privates, at the Falls of the Ohio (near present Louisville), Sept. 14, 1781. Sent to Fort Niagara, and forwarded to Montreal, reaching there Nov. 28, 1781.

Haldimand MSS.

WARNER, GEORGE, *Sr.* The most prominent and influential Whig taken captive in the Schoharie region during the Revolution; widely known to friend and foe, and an active member of the local committee of safety. From Nicholas Warner, his oldest son, Jephtha R. Simms in 1837 gathered the story of his captivity and that of his son George Warner, Jr. Both are recorded at length in the "History of Schoharie County," and but briefly summarized here. Warner, senior, was made a prisoner on Sunday, Dec. 11, 1782, by the redoubtable Seth's Henry, a Mohawk, whose exploits at this period, between Fort Niagara and the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys, are dwelt on at length by Simms. George Warner, Jr., was taken by the same party, as were John Snyder, Peter Zimmer and others. The elder Warner was treated with great care and consideration—Simms says, "with the care of a brother"—all the way to Fort Niagara. On arriving at the Indian towns in Western New York, the Indian who had him especially in charge, "took him by the hand and led him unhurt outside the lines which had been formed for his reception, to the displeasure of those who had from infancy been taught to delight in tortures and cruelty. A prisoner being led by his captors outside the gauntlet lines, was an evidence of protection and exemption from abuse seldom ever violated." No doubt the expectation of unusual reward for a prisoner of unusual distinction, prompted this treatment. From Fort Niagara Mr. Warner was sent to Rebel Island, near Montreal, and after an absence of eleven months reached home "by the northeastern route, coming through Hartford, Conn.; and what was unusual, was better clad on his return than at the time of his capture."

WARNER, GEORGE, *Jun.* Made a captive July 27, 1782, in the present town of Cobleskill, N. Y., by the tory partisans Adam and William Crysler and their Indian allies, chief among whom was

the Schoharie chief Seth's Henry. The experiences of Warner, junior, were told by him to Simms the historian, and are recorded in "The History of Schoharie County" with more of detail than those of any other captive from that part of the country. With his father, John Snyder, Peter Zimmer and others, he was carried south, up the Schoharie, over the divide and down the Susquehanna to Oquaga, and thence by one of the usual trails northwesterly to Fort Niagara. On the road, Warner ate "of a deer, a wolf, a rattlesnake, and a hen-hawk, but without bread or salt." With Zimmer he planned to escape, but the Indians became suspicious and kept a close watch. On the road they passed another party who were killing a prisoner in a strange manner: "His captors had tied his wrists together and drawn them over his knees, after which a stick was passed under the knees and over the wrists, and a rope tied to it between them, and thrown over the limb of a tree. His tormentors then drew him up a distance and let him fall by slacking the rope; continuing their hellish sport until the concussion extinguished the vital spark." Near the outlet of Seneca Lake young Warner had an altercation with Capt. Crysler, who taunted the prisoners and boasted that the King would conquer the rebels. For championing the Americans Warner was sentenced to be hanged. A noose was placed around his neck, but after some hours of apprehension he was allowed to go on as before. Among those who beat and abused young Warner and Zimmer, as they passed through the ordeal of the gauntlet in the Western New York villages, was Molly Brant. "On arriving within half a mile of Niagara, Peter Ball, who had removed at the beginning of the war to Canada, from the vicinity of Schoharie, saw and recognized Warner, and led him away from the squaws and young Indians, who were besetting him at every step with some missile." Warner was kept a prisoner in the vicinity of Fort Niagara until after peace was proclaimed. For considerable part of his captivity he worked for a man living near the fort, who also employed Christian Price, a somewhat noted Virginian, *q. v.* Young Warner with twenty-three others prisoners ran away from Fort Niagara one Sunday night, apparently soon after peace was proclaimed in 1783. They made their way to Oswego, whether by land or lake is not known, purchased provisions of the British soldiers, and "made the best of their way home, through the forest." Capt. George Warner died in 1844, in his 87th year.

WELLER, DANIEL. Taken prisoner in Exeter, Pa., near the upper end of the Wyoming valley, June 30, 1778. Presumably sent to Fort Niagara, with other prisoners of the Wyoming fights.

WESTERFIELD, MARY. Details of her captivity not known. With 56 other prisoners she was sent from Fort Niagara to Montreal, arriving there Oct. 4, 1782.

Haldimand MSS.

"WHITE CHIEF." Family name unknown. Taken by the Indians, when a small child, in the Susquehanna valley; probably in the French war, prior to 1760, as he was an aged man in 1833, when

he told as much of his story as he knew, to Mrs. Asher Wright at the Buffalo Creek mission. He spent practically his whole life among the Senecas, and was the father of Seneca White, White Seneca and John Seneca.

WHITMOYER, GEORGE. Taken with two brothers and two sisters, in Lancaster County, Pa., apparently in 1782, by Senecas, and kept for a time captive at Tonawanda (old Seneca town). His sister Sarah, afterwards the wife of the captive Horatio Jones, passed her captivity in the Genesee valley and does not appear to have been brought to the Niagara. Name also written "Whitmore."

"The Life of Horatio Jones" and "Sarah Whitmore's Captivity," *Buf. Hist. Soc. Pubs.*, vol. vi.

WHITMOYER, JOHN. Shared the experiences of his brother George, as above.

WHITMOYER, MARY. Sister of George, John and Peter Whitmoyer; taken with them and carried to Niagara by the Senecas; no data as to duration of her captivity.

WHITMOYER, PETER. Brother of Mary, and taken with her to Niagara a prisoner of the Senecas.

WHITTAKER, (Mrs.) JANE. She was taken prisoner, with many relatives and neighbors, in May, 1778, at Wysox, Bedford Co., Pa., where her father, Sebastian Strobe, had settled in 1773. At Tioga Point Mrs. Whittaker and others were turned over to a British officer. While there she saw John Butler and his British and Indian forces embark for Wyoming. In July ('78) she was taken to Owego, Bainbridge and Unadika (? Unadilla), staying there several weeks, then returning in canoes to Tioga Point. She remained there "until a short time after the appearance of Col. Hartley and Maj. Zebulon Butler, in the fall, at the head of a respectable force which had been placed there to prevent a second attack upon Wyoming, and to protect the frontier." Then the Indians sent all their captives, including Mrs. Whittaker and the Strobe family, to Fort Niagara. They were restored to their friends in the fall of 1780. Mrs. Whittaker died in 1852 at the home of her son in Toulon, Ill.

Mrs. Whittaker kept a journal of her captivity; it is cited in a letter written by Th. Maxwell (Elmira, Oct. 18, 1853) to Henry R. Schoolcraft, and printed in the appendix to vol. v, Schoolcraft's "History of the Indian Tribes," etc. Mrs. Whittaker gives interesting data regarding Catharine Monteur and "Queen Esther"; the latter had paid friendly visits to her father's family at Wysox before the capture, and at Tioga Point proved friendly and helpful to the prisoners. At Fort Niagara Mrs. Whittaker often saw Joseph Brant, and her journal contains a graphic description of him.

WIERBACH, ———. A daughter of John Wierbach, taken captive in Buffalo Valley, Pa., 1781, probably by the same war party that captured the Emericks. The Emerick women were brought to Fort Niagara, and apparently Miss Wierbach was with them.

She married an Indian; and although after the war her father came in search of her and found her, he could not persuade her to return to Pennsylvania with him, she preferring her life among the Indians.

Linn, "Annals of Buffalo Valley."

WILLIAMS, ELIZABETH. According to Major Robert Stobo, she was with "Lowrey's traders" when they were taken prisoners by an Indian named English John, at Gist's place near Fort Necessity (battle of Great Meadows) July 4, 1754. The Indians took her to Fort Du Quesne, whence she was sent with others to Fort Niagara and thence to Canada.

Stobo's "Memoirs."

WILSON, JAMES. Aged 44. Captured somewhere in Pennsylvania, 1782; sent to Montreal from Fort Niagara, August, 1783.

Haldimand MSS.

WILSON, JOHN. Aged 14, probably a son of James Wilson, mentioned above, with whom he was taken in Pennsylvania in 1782 and brought to Fort Niagara. Shipped to Montreal, August, 1783.

Haldimand MSS.

WOOD, JOHN. Fellow captive of Rudolf Keller, *q. v.* Wood was taken by Maj. Ross's party at Stone Ridge on the Mohawk, Oct. 24, 1782.

WOOD (*Capt.*) ———. Said to have been taken by Joseph Brant at the Minisink massacre; Brant claimed that he saved Wood's life. Wood was taken to Fort Niagara, where he remained until peace.

Turner's "Holland Purchase," p. 262.

YORK, ———. Taken along with John Jenkins, Jr., and Elemuel Fitch, near Standingstone, on the Susquehanna, November, 1778; carried to Fort Niagara, and sent down to Montreal for exchange. Name also written "Yorke."

YOUNG, MARY. A young woman, daughter of Matthew Young, who lived on Spruce Run, near Lewisburg, Pa. She was taken by Indians, who had already in their hands Capt. James Thompson, in March, 1781. Thompson ultimately escaped, and it was from his narrative that the adventures of Mary Young are learned. She was carried over the White Deer mountains, north of Buffalo valley—the Buffalo is a large tributary, from the west, of the West Branch of the Susquehanna—to Towanda. "Her hardships," says Thompson, "were fearful. Often her clothes were frozen solid after wading the creeks." She was carried to one of the Indian towns, location not stated, but presumably on the Genesee, the Tonawanda or Buffalo Creek. "They set her to hoeing corn. An old negro, who was also a prisoner, told her to dig up the beans planted with the corn, and they would sell her to the English. She did as she was advised, and they thought her too stupid to learn to work, and sold her." From Fort Niagara she was sent to Montreal, and sold again. "Her purchaser's name was Young, and on tracing the relationship, they

found they were cousins. She remained there until after the war, and then returned to her friends in Buffalo valley." Her health was undermined, and though living in 1787, is said to have died soon after.

Linn, "Annals of Buffalo Valley, Pa."

ZIELIE, (Capt.) ———. A militia officer, captured by Ross and his large party near Johnson Hall on the Mohawk, Oct. 25, 1781. So far as known he shared the experiences of his fellow captive, Rudolf Keller, *q. v.*

ZIMMER, PETER. Of Schoharie, taken captive July 26, 1782, but evidently detained but a short time in Canada, for he reached home from Boston in December, 1782, with William Bouck, who had been carried off to Niagara the year before. He was taken to Fort Niagara in the same party as John Snyder and George Warner, Jr., *q. v.* Zimmer's experiences are related with those of Warner. At Fort Niagara Zimmer saw his brother's scalp, and others that he recognized, stretched upon hoops to dry, "with bushels of similar British merchandize, made up of the crown scalps of both sexes and all ages." (Simms.) There were about 200 prisoners confined at Niagara at this time, several of whom died for want of food and proper treatment. Among the prisoners were nearly a hundred Virginia riflemen. See PRICE, CHRISTIAN.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE
BURNING OF BUFFALO

AND TO

THE NIAGARA FRONTIER PRIOR
TO AND DURING THE
WAR OF 1812



MARGARET ST. JOHN.

FROM A PORTRAIT IN THE POSSESSION OF MR. FRANKLIN SIDWAYS.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE BURNING OF BUFFALO

AND EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE FAMILY OF
GAMALIEL AND MARGARET ST. JOHN

BY THEIR DAUGHTER
MRS. JONATHAN SIDWAY¹

My parents were from the towns of Norwalk and Kent, in the State of Connecticut. My father was from Norwalk and my mother from Kent. My mother, Margaret Kinsman Marsh, was the daughter of Cyrus Marsh, who was the first Presbyterian clergyman settled in the township of Kent, according to Connecticut annals; and he was also one of the five young gentlemen who constituted the first class on whom Yale College conferred its degrees, as will be seen by reference to the catalogue of the *Alumni* of that institution.

After Cyrus Marsh graduated he was, in May, 1741, ordained a minister, and sent as a missionary to the then new, if not frontier town of Kent, to preach, not only to the people of that town, but to a tribe of Indians known as the Schaticooks, living on a branch of the Housatonic, of the same name.

1. Farnell St. John was born June 6, 1801, at Aurelius, near Auburn, Cayuga Co., N. Y., and was therefore in her thirteenth year when Buffalo was burned. At about the age of twenty-two she became the wife of Jonathan Sidway, who died in 1848. Mrs. Sidway died April 22, 1879, leaving two sons, Franklin and John, and a daughter, Mrs. Asaph S. Bemis. Her reminiscences were given in her old age, 1875 to 1877, at the solicitation of her brother, Dr. Orson S. St. John, and set down by him—Mrs. Sidway being almost blind in her last years—and deposited with the Buffalo Historical Society. They are now first published.

Gamaliel St. John was born Sept. 22, 1766. He died June 6, 1813. My mother was born in Wilton, Conn., July 15, 1768; died April 29, 1847.

They were married in Kent October 16, 1788, and took up their residence in a house built by them in the village of Danbury, Connecticut, where they lived for several years, and until they had born unto them five children: Elijah Northrop, Maria, Aurelia, Cyrus Marsh, and Sarah.

Partaking of the spirit of emigrating to the West, they moved to the town of Westmoreland, Oneida Co., N. Y., where was born their daughter Margaret. During their residence in Oneida County my father entered into contract with the proper persons for constructing a portion of the turnpike from Albany to Cayuga Lake. His contract called for the necessary work to be done on a section of seven or eight miles between the Cayuga and Owasco lakes. That work necessitated their removal to Cayuga County. During their stay in Cayuga there were born unto them three children, Parnell, Martha, and John Ransom. After living in Cayuga County six or seven years, and finishing the section of the road according to contract, and to the satisfaction and acceptance of the other parties, my father removed with his family, in the year 1807, to a farm in Williamsville, then Niagara County, now Erie County; on which farm is still to be seen the large spring that constitutes the source of the Mill Creek at the village of Williamsville, and which is one of the tributaries of the Tonawanda Creek. But he did not move his family until he had made, in the previous spring, a tour of observation that extended all along the Niagara frontier. The farm thus selected was then the property of Mr. Andrew Ellicott, a brother of Joseph Ellicott.

He had letters from Joseph Ellicott to Jonas Williams of Williamsville. As there is some discrepancy of opinion as to whether Mr. Joseph Ellicott did or did not accompany him to Williamsville, either on the occasion of his first or second visit, it is thought most probable by those of the family now living that at one or other of the times Mr.

Joseph Ellicott gave him the letters to Mr. Williams, and that Mr. Andrew Ellicott did accompany him to Williamsville.

While living at Williamsville there transpired the usual new country events, traditional in the family, of wild-cats and wolves among the flocks, and the hunting of them by the men and boys of the family; of going to the mill at Batavia or at Niagara Falls, there being nothing but a saw-mill at Williamsville, built during the summer of 1807, the frame of which was put up by voluntary labor of the people, so desirous were they of having some way of getting lumber. The saw-mill frame was put up on Mr. Williams' land, and the necessary gearing and iron work were furnished by Mr. Joseph Ellicott.

After residing three years on the farm at Williamsville, during which time was born Le Grand Canun St. John, father sold his farm to a man by the name of Frink, reserving the privilege of cutting and hauling away logs for his own benefit.

The family moved to Buffalo in the spring of 1810, having previously bought of Mrs. Chapman a claim for Lot No. 53, Holland Land Co. survey, on which was the frame for a house, forty feet square, standing on blocks, and back of which was an appendix of twenty feet square, one and a half stories high, enclosed and floored, having a chimney with the old-fashioned fireplace, and baking oven by the side of the fireplace. Lot 53 is directly opposite the Tift House, which is on the site of the old Phoenix hotel.²

Into this apology for a house the family, then consisting of the parents and ten children, moved on or about the 10th of May, 1810. On the 28th day of that month, in the chamber of the above-mentioned appendix, was born the eleventh child, Orson Swift St. John.

The price paid Mrs. Chapman for Lot 53 and appurtenances was \$4,000; and \$200 paid to Mr. Ellicott procured the deed.

2. Site now covered by the stores of the Wm. Hengerer Co.

Mrs. Chapman before her marriage to Mr. Chapman was the Widow Hull; and the issue of the marriage with Mr. Hull was Mr. William Hull, the father of the present Mrs. O. G. Steele³ and her deceased brother, who received the name of his father, William, and died at New Orleans while in discharge of his duties as an officer of the United States Navy.

When young, my father was apprenticed, for seven years, from the age of fourteen until twenty-one years of age. That was the custom of the times, and taken from the English custom. The business to which he was apprenticed was the manufacturing of implements of agriculture and tools used by various mechanics, such as plows, harrows, scythes, planes, chisels, augurs, and their woodings, etc. In time he became skilled in the general use of the tools of the carpenter and the blacksmith. This experience, which goes so far to make up the universal Yankee, was, in a new country, of the utmost value to him as a contractor on the turnpike, as a farmer, and finally as a builder.

When he went to get his deed from Mr. Ellicott, he presented the contract, purchased from Mrs. Chapman, which was accepted as satisfactory, and the deed given. At that time, while in conversation, Mr. Ellicott made a solicitous request that he should undertake the iron work of the then contemplated jail to be built at Buffalo. Mr. Ellicott wanted some one to engage in that work who was not only capable, but responsible. Father said that he could do all of the work except the making of the locks. When Mr. Ellicott proposed to send to Philadelphia for skilled workmen for that special purpose a contract was made between them, the Philadelphia experts sent for, and the work, under the supervision and personal labor of my father was urged forward. At the same time that this work of the jail was going on, the work of finishing the house bought of Mrs. Chapman was progressing. There was also at that time in process of construction the first courthouse, a frame

3. Died Aug. 17, 1875.

building, being built by Ozial Smith, under contract with the same parties, who were on the part of the public directing the building of the jail, the chief spirit among whom was Mr. Joseph Ellicott. Mr. Ellicott's advice in all of these matters was the next thing to law.

The lumber for the covering and finishing of the house purchased of Mrs. Chapman was all drawn from Williamsville; the logs for which had been cut and drawn to the saw-mill during the winter previous (the winter of 1809-10). The shingles for the house were all made during the same winter by my father and his boys, Elijah and Cyrus. Much of this material was drawn in the winter before moving to Buffalo, and the remainder was drawn afterwards as it could be got through the mill. The cellar was made of the dimensions of the whole house, and the stones with which the walls were laid up were drawn from the quarries of Judge Erastus Granger on the banks of the Three-mile Creek, east of the then village of Buffalo. That creek was known where it emptied into the Niagara River below the then ferry at the foot of Niagara Street as the Scajaquada, commonly pronounced Conjockada.

The road then was in the usual condition of most if not all roads, through a new and timbered country, there being very little done except to cut the timber out sufficiently for the passage of teams and the making of causeways over the low and very wet grounds. The road from the Three-mile Creek was at first called four miles, and was throughout the entire distance from the creek to the "Cold Springs" covered with a log causeway. The road, from what was afterwards Walden's Hill to Chippewa Street and to North Church (Dr. Johnson's lot), was covered with a log causeway. Between Chippewa Street and where the North Church now stands⁴ was a log bridge over a ravine and low grounds, which extended nearly if not quite the entire distance. Along this ravine ran a small stream heading on the east side of Main Street in the rear of what was afterwards

4. West side of Main Street, below Chippewa. The North Presbyterian Church was torn down 1904.

the lot and hat factory of Mr. Henry Campbell. The forest timber stood in its native condition on either side of the road, with exceptional little patches of clearing of a few square rods at long intervals as far down as to Tupper Street; and from thence the woods were cleared away in spots and more or less work done as people "took up" their lots and were in need of timber, firewood, and a garden spot to a point as low down in Main Street as to where the First Church stands.⁵ There was the first considerable clearing. That ground did not have the appearance of having been cleared for any particular purpose, nor according to any previous design, but seemed from appearances, there being no stumps, but some second growth of small brush, to have been a camping and council ground of the Indians, and was then, in 1810, the locality where they received their annuities from the Government at the hands of the Indian agent, Mr. Granger.

From Gillett's hill (the Terrace) to the Buffalo Creek, Main Street was causewayed, and the bridge over Little Buffalo Creek was made of logs, with a pier in the center of the stream and logs across the stringers.

The road to and from the Indian village was down Main Street to the Big Buffalo Creek, and along the bank of the creek, passing Pratt's ferry, up to the Seneca village. The best road to Black Rock was down from Gillett's hill, along the west bank of the Little Buffalo Creek (Commercial Street) to the Big Buffalo Creek, thence along the Big Buffalo to the lake, crossing a small stream ten feet wide and two and a half feet deep and going around a small bay before getting to the beach of the lake; thence down and along the beach of the lake to "Sandy Town"; thence keeping close to the water, turned around close to the "Black Rock" just where the canal enters the Black Rock harbor; thence down and close along the foot of the hill where the railroad now runs until the ferry was reached, a point at the foot of Niagara Street. There was a longer and less inviting way

5. Site of Erie County Savings Bank.

by what was commonly called the Guideboard road, now North Street. Niagara Street had been marked and some work done on it.

The house of my father, and of which we have been speaking, was finished in the fall and winter of 1810 with the pressing purpose in view of holding therein the New Year's ball of the coming first of January, 1811. That ball was held in the room intended for such purposes, and was attended by parties from a distance embracing the whole frontier. The population was so sparse that they must necessarily come from considerable distances to make up in numbers a respectable party.

The political party strife which brought on the war of 1812, and the consequent personal animosity between the Democrats and Federalists, ran so high at that date as very unmistakably to show itself in the calling together of that dancing party. There were a few Democrats present, but the principal number of the party were Federalists. My father was a Jeffersonian Democrat, and a zealous supporter of all the measures that tended to the declaration and prosecution of the war.

During the summer of 1811 nothing of particular moment took place in the village of Buffalo beyond the councils held by and between the Ogdens with their interpreters, Jasper Parrish and Horatio Jones, on the one part, and the Seneca Indians and their chiefs, assisted by Mr. Granger, on the other. The part which Mr. Granger acted was prompted and perhaps required by the United States Government as its agent for that tribe.

Red Jacket was present at this and all future councils, and successfully opposed all overtures made for the purchase of any portion of the lands which were held by the Indians under reservation and guarantee from the U. S. Government. His councils prevailed with his tribe so long as he lived, but not many years after his demise they were forgotten or overruled.

Gen. Peter B. Porter had at first the exclusive right of purchase from the Indians, which right he sold to Ogden,

and time has proved the wisdom of the Indian sale and removals, both for themselves and the city of Buffalo.

During the summer of 1811 political animosities and party strife ran insanely zealous, extending their bitterness into individual business and social intercourse. Families were estranged from each other, indulging in the severest reflections, which were not believed by either party; and this very unprofitable spirit of crimination and recrimination pervaded the whole body politic to the extent that their children in school took sides and, like their parents, were not particular as to the justice of their invectives.

My father had, and still has, the reputation, among those who remember him, of being careful and deliberate of speech; his councils to his family were: "Be careful and think twice before you speak." My mother was of more irascible temperament. She was just, generous to the extent of her means, and in all great and dark trials was first timid, then firm, deliberate, calm, and hopeful, relying upon her Heavenly Father to guide her out of impending difficulties. Yet in ordinary matters she was impetuous, irritable, impatient of opposition, self-reliant, positive in her counsels, and imperative in her commands. In all matters after the situation was comprehended, she was, as we shall hereafter see, as far as it is possible for any woman to be, equal to her task.

In the spring of 1810, just before the family moved to Buffalo, my brother Elijah left Williamsville. He went to Erie and was in the service of Mr. Seth Reed, but returned after an absence of three months, and not being yet of age until in August, he handed over to his father the net earnings of his time up to the date of his majority. Such was the generally conceded and lawful duty of all minors as held at that time. Father took the money, but more from prudence than selfish motives, as he was not of an acquisitive disposition.

During the following winter (1810-11) my brothers Elijah and Cyrus, were sent to Albany with father's teams to bring on goods for both Hart and Grosvenor. That trip

led to the conception of the thought of making a business of that sort of enterprise, which he afterwards attempted to carry out. In the spring of 1811 Elijah bought a stock of goods from Eli Hart, for which father became responsible, and for which he afterwards paid. With this outfit my brother traveled and traded all along the south shore of Lake Erie as far west as the river Raisin, exchanging his goods with Indians and French half-breeds for furs, white-fish, fruits and whatever else that promised to be available on his return. He returned late in the next fall or early winter; made with my brother Cyrus another trip to Albany during that winter, and in the spring of 1812, with another stock of goods bought of Abel M. Grosvenor, Sr., started in a schooner (name not known),⁶ commanded by Capt. Chapin, and bound for Detroit. While the vessel was heading toward Malden on her way to the mouth of the Detroit river, and near the entrance, she was captured, with all on board, by the *Queen Charlotte*, which had been hastily fitted out by the Canadians for war purposes. The men who were taken were kept in prison for three months, and then set at liberty on the Niagara frontier. Nothing was heard of my brother from the time that he started from Buffalo, except that the vessel was taken at Malden, until he entered the door of the homestead on his return. Everything was taken from him except the summer suit which he wore—not even a pocketknife was left him.

When my brother left, the news of the declaration of war with England, June 17, 1812, had not reached the people of Buffalo, but by some means or route that fact had come to the knowledge of the Canadians sooner than it did to the people of this side of the river, and the Canadians, taking advantage of their earlier intelligence, made prisoners of all of our people who were on their "side of the line."

Late in the spring of 1811, after having made the special trip mentioned above for the purpose of bringing on goods

6. This was the schooner *Cuyahoga Packet*, of thirty tons burden, built at Chagrin River, O., in 1805; commanded by Captain Luther Chapin, and captured by the British at Malden in 1812. See *Buf. Hist. Soc. Publications*, Vol. VIII, p. 294.

for Messrs. Hart and Grosvenor (individually, not partners), my father conceived the idea of becoming a common carrier as a business, and with that view entered into contracts with several of the merchants of Buffalo for the transportation of their goods from Albany or Utica, as the season permitted, going to Albany in the winter and only to Utica in the summer, as goods were then brought by open batteaux, poled up the Mohawk river, to that place. He began that enterprise with two teams, one of three horses, before what was then called a Pennsylvania wagon, and one of two horses before a common wagon. Not long after he added the third team of two horses, making in all, that season, seven horses and three wagons. That was the beginning of through transportation by regular line from Albany to Buffalo. The last trip to Albany made by these teams was under the guidance of my two brothers, Elijah and Cyrus, in the winter of 1811-12. Within a year from the time that this enterprise was inaugurated it went out of his hands, and in consequence of the war measures that business, under other management, took on such enormous proportions that there were necessarily established extensive lines of transportation, involving the use of much more capital than he had at command.

The teams which made up those future lines had in number as many, in some instances, as sixteen horses to one wagon with a tire six or more inches wide. The reasons for these wide tires were that, as they were too wide for the ruts of the ordinary wagon, their tendency was to level the turnpike without cutting deep, and therefore were allowed to pass free of toll, an item not to be overlooked in their economy. That mode of common carrying in time assumed national importance, increasing with the settlement of the West, bringing and carrying between the East and West until it became, beyond a doubt, the evolving fact in the commerce of the State which led to the conception and construction of the New York and Erie Canal.

Previous to and up to the time that my father's family came to Buffalo, the mails were carried principally on horse-

back. They were sent and brought twice or three times each week, and their arrival was announced by the mail carrier's horn.⁷

During the summer of 1812 nothing, or very little, was done by the United States Government in the way of prosecuting the war on this frontier, evidently knowing too little about its needs and conditions, and expecting the principal strife to be carried on on the ocean, or somewhere else than this locality. The Canadians, however, being more active, were not long in provoking a recognition of this, as the considerable field of their warfare. Yet nothing was done beyond the general trainings ordered by the State of New York in August or September and a draft of militia for defensive purposes.

The battery (at first of one gun near this place) called Fort Adams, was put in place at or near Black Rock ferry, now foot of Niagara Street, and from there an irregular cannonading went on with the Canadian side (now Waterloo)⁸ for the space of six weeks. Among the events which took place during that battery practice was an evidence of the skill of the late venerable Dr. Josiah Trowbridge, then an enterprising young man. He so sighted his gun that at the second discharge it knocked the ram-rod (a handspike) from the hands of a Canadian gunner across the river, and for a brief space dispersed their gunnery and quieted their gun. Not long after the query came across the river as to who handled our gun on that day. My brother Cyrus dug from the bank, just under or below our battery, a cannon ball fired by the Canadian battery. The late Henry Lovejoy helped my brother bring it home. It was, I think, an eighteen-pound shot. Slung with a handkerchief on a pole, and with one end of the stick on the shoulder of each, the boys brought it to town. After many years it disappeared in our first furnace, which was in Reese's blacksmith shop.

7. On Buffalo's early mail service, *see* Buf. Hist. Soc. Publications, Vol. IV, pp. 311 *et seq.* The first mail received in Buffalo was brought, on horseback, March, 1803. It was conveyed from the East in this manner, once in two weeks, until 1805. A weekly horseback service was then established, which continued until 1810, when it was superseded by stage-wagon delivery.

8. Fort Erie, Ont.

Of the regiment formed in Buffalo and vicinity Dr. Cyrenius Chapin was made colonel, the father of the late William Miller was made major, William Hull a captain, Asael Atkins a lieutenant, and many of the active young men were called upon to fill the non-commissioned offices.

Politics ran high in spirit, and personal animosities were fearful. The social and communal frenzy was beyond description; all giving advice, and no one taking it; no concentration, no head, no effective purpose; all were bad people but those who were criticising. If people attended to their own interests and were prosperous they were enviously denounced, and the source of their prosperity questioned. The opinions of the envious persons were, as usual, of no permanent value, except to tear down themselves and build up the envied.

On October 3d of 1812 my sister, Aurelia St. John, was married to Asaph Stebbins Bemis by Judge Oliver Forward. On the 9th day of November following my brother, Cyrus Marsh St. John, after returning from a hunting expedition in company with Elijah, through the inclemency of the weather and the swampy nature of the country, contracted the disease then epidemical, commonly called the "camp distemper," and died after six days' sickness. That disease was evidently, from its description, inflammation of the larynx and bronchia, in some instances involving the tonsils, and in many respects answering in symptoms to the disease known now as "diphtheria." Soon after this event, on returning home from the funeral, father was taken down with the same disease; but in consequence of the persistent efforts of Mr. LeCouteulx, who was by profession a druggist, with his French apparatus for steaming the throat with herb teas, it is believed by the family the disease was overcome. The apparatus above mentioned was a small pot with a long flexible tube, on the end of which was an ivory mouthpiece. The ivory end was inserted back into the fauces as far as possible, and respiration, at least the inhalation, was conducted through it. That brought on an active secretion and suppuration, and with it relief. Dr. Eben-

ezer Johnson, the attending physician, thought this case one of quinsy or "tonsilitis." Other members of the family were sick with the same disease, with various symptoms and degrees of violence, but in time all recovered.

During the sickness of the family, or soon after that date, my sister, Aurelia Bemis, and her husband rented the back room of Mr. Forward's house, at the solicitation of Mr. and Mrs. Forward, as they said, "to keep soldiers from quartering there." The building had two rooms on the first floor and a chamber, Mr. and Mrs. Forward occupying the front room, Mr. and Mrs. Bemis the back room; the chamber being used as the postoffice. The dimensions of that building cannot now be defined. The street door of the building opened into the room occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Forward, there being no hall. The entrance to the back room was by a side door, and the way to the postoffice was by a flight of steps up and across the front of the building.

In consequence of the family sickness spoken of above, my father took down the sign of the house as a hotel, and Mr. and Mrs. Bemis returned there to live.

After the six weeks' cannonading between Fort Adams and the Canadian side of the Niagara river, and while General Smyth with forces under him were lying here, the naval officers came, say in November, 1812. Being young, ambitious, restless, anxious for active service, they solicited from the officer in command the privilege of attempting to spike the British guns. General Smyth gave the order; the attack was made, the cannon spiked, the return a success; but with what casualties to our men, if any, is not recollected. In the latter part of the winter General Smyth was relieved by Col. Preston.

The next event of any moment during the winter of 1812-13 was the military ball held in the public house of Mr. Joseph Landon,⁹ given by the officers stationed in this vicinity in honor of Governor Lewis on the occasion of his visit to Buffalo. Of course Governor Lewis was a Demo-

9. On present Exchange Street, south side, between Main and Washington streets. Site now covered by the east end of the Mansion House.

crat. He had been elected as a war Democrat. My father, being an ultra-Democrat, very readily affiliated with him, and was present at the ball, though not yet in the best of health, accompanied by my sisters, Maria and Sarah. The Governor danced but once that evening, and that with my sister Maria St. John as a partner.

In the spring of 1813 the schooners John Adams and Niagara¹⁰ were cut out from the Canadian shore by a private party, but I cannot say who, without any particular order or command, and were brought back to this side of the river and moored or anchored in the stream just above Squaw Island. Those two vessels were lying there, say in May, 1813; the Adams certainly in June. During the winter all of the naval stores had been moved to Erie as a better base of naval operations. During the spring of 1813 Colonel Preston made his preparations for attacking Fort Erie.

By that time my father's health was so far recovered that he was able to ride down to Black Rock nearly every day, and it was understood by the family that he was in general consultation respecting the feasibility of measures to be taken by and with Col. Preston.

The Democrats, being in the minority in the township of Buffalo, were the subjects of a vast deal of uncharitable vituperation, but were none the less a unit in all that pertained to war measures. General Smyth was a Federalist, Colonel Preston a Democrat, and as such inspired his party friends with a hope that something would be done worthy of the country.

When everything was in readiness the army was ordered to cross the river. Previous to the order being given to cross there was an understanding between Col. Preston and Col. Chrystie, stationed at Fort Niagara, that on a given day, in the morning early enough to be on the Canadian shore by daylight, there should be a simultaneous movement on Fort Erie and Fort George, and it was further arranged that in the event of either army succeeding a

10. So written, but should be "schooners Adams and Caledonia." For account of this episode, *see* Buf. Hist. Soc. Publications, Vol. VIII, pp. 405-417.

messenger should be at once dispatched to the other. As Col. Preston's force was to cross below Fort Erie, and that under Col. Chrystie was to cross, I think, above Fort George, while forces from the fleet were landed below, the messengers were expected to reach their destination without much difficulty, particularly as they were to be prepared with the proper means or signs by which they should know each other, and be recognized as proper and reliable persons by the officers in command.

On the morning of the crossing of the armies, May 27, 1813, my father took an early breakfast and left home for the scene of action at Black Rock, saying to the family that he would go down and see how Col. Preston had succeeded in crossing, and that he would be back in due season, evidently intending to quiet my mother's anxieties about his health being such as to warrant his crossing the river. As he did not return as was expected a messenger was sent to inquire and learn of his whereabouts, who, on returning, informed the family that his horse was in the stable at Black Rock, and that himself was seen on one of the last boats going over the river.

He went directly up to Fort Erie (as he afterwards narrated), which had by that time been possessed by the forces under Col. Preston, who was looking anxiously for some one acquainted with the country to be a bearer of dispatches to Col. Chrystie. My father volunteered to go. As a prudential measure, he was dressed in a British sergeant's uniform, and carried as a provision against emergencies a flag of truce. His acquaintance with the country and people on the Canadian side, many of whom were friendly to the United States, enabled him to know where and to whom to apply for a fresh horse and food, which he was supplied with at the distance of about twelve miles below Fort Erie. He rode the distance as soon as a proper prudence would admit, and reached Fort George late in the afternoon at about the same time, or very soon after, our troops took possession of it, which they were enabled to do after much harder fighting than at Fort Erie.

As my father entered Fort George, Col. Chrystie was casting about for some one to be the bearer of dispatches to Col. Preston. The dispatches, borne by him from Col. Preston, gave to Col. Chrystie the desired information respecting the situation of affairs at Fort Erie. After taking a soldier's supper he was mounted on a fresh horse and started back as bearer of dispatches from Col. Chrystie to Col. Preston in Fort Erie. He accomplished his task that night, having made a journey, not without perils, of seventy-nine miles in less than twenty-four hours.

At his time in life, and his health considered, that effort was one of great fatigue. He rested and slept a part of the second day. When he arose from his sleep Col. Preston met him, saluted him, thanked him for his services, and tendered him a certificate setting forth that his services were of great value and worthy of consideration and reward by the Government, at the same time intimating that he would reward him in any other way that he would name. Father's answer was that he was serving his country, and as he had previously pledged his services to the country in various ways, he was too well paid by the happiness which he experienced, as he rejoiced in the successes of the day. His first impulse was that he did not think the certificate necessary, but as Col. Preston insisted on his taking it, saying that my father could not say when or where it might be of service to him, he did take it, and witnesses are living who read it. When the village was burned it was destroyed by the Indians, together with all of his valuable papers.

Col. Preston suggested to him that he would do well to take from the spoils some memorials of the events of the day. On looking about among the effects of the British officers there were found many elegant things, particularly in the line of clothing. It was finally decided that he should take an undress suit of exquisite material, which by trial was found to fit him. That suit was afterwards much admired and coveted by many of the young American officers. The family knew nothing of his doings from the time that he was seen on the boat crossing the river until his return.

Not long after his return, say three or four days, Col. Preston sent a special messenger requesting him to come over to Fort Erie. On going over to Fort Erie he learned that Col. Preston wanted to know where the ferry boats were. After much counseling as to the ways and means by which the military supplies for the army could be got across the river, he was requested by Col. Preston to go and hunt up the ferry boat and see that it was made available for that purpose. He engaged to do so. On coming back to this side of the river he found that a Mr. Dean had some special grants from the State authorities giving him control over the ferry, but that in consequence of the war he had, for a time at least, abandoned his rights, and had taken his boat down to Scajaquada creek and sunk it. Father went down to the creek, and calling on Mr. Benjamin Bidwell, a young man then living near that creek, engaged him as a ship carpenter to help in repairing the boat in the event of its being found. It was found deep in the mud and seriously broken, but the bottom was found to be sound. It was pried up, and with much difficulty got in shape to be repaired. Mr. Bidwell was the chief worker in making the necessary repairs, in which he was more or less assisted in various ways by others, among whom was my brother Elijah.

In the meantime Col. Preston was urging that the work be expedited, and that father should take charge of it when done. That he refused to do, beyond getting the boat ready and sending it over to the Canadian shore. He had talked with brother Elijah, advising him to take charge of the boat in preference to his going on another trading expedition up the lake, as he was desirous of doing.

By dint of severe effort the boat was by Saturday night of June 5, 1813, thought to be fit for service, and the next day, Sunday, June 6th, everything, as far as it could be, was in readiness for delivery.

Elijah remained down where the boat was, but father returned home Saturday evening. He left again very early Sunday morning. After making a call for volunteers to

help take the boat over, and getting his men together, they were by nine o'clock a. m. under motion. There were in all nine persons on board.

Of the number of men so engaged there were five soldiers, wishing and waiting to go over; a Mr. George Lester, a tanner by trade from Cold Springs, who had a horse with him, and a young lad from up in the country, who afterwards proved to be Mr. Lester Brace, who had asked as a privilege to be allowed to go over in the boat. My brother Elijah acted as steersman and father directed the whole.

The boat was headed up the stream, until they had reached a point where, as Elijah thought, they were high enough, to pass the cable of the schooner John Adams, then, as before mentioned, lying there at anchor. Elijah repeatedly suggested that they were high enough up, but father, more cautious, advised going still farther up the stream, until they should reach a less doubtful point. They went farther up. When they did strike out to cross the river, they soon found that by reason of the inexperience of the men, of their want of skill in handling the boat in a rapid current of which they had little or no knowledge, they were making no encouraging progress toward Canada, but were floating directly down upon the cable of the John Adams, which had been their special reason for caution. In spite of their efforts to avoid it, they struck the dreaded cable, up which the scow made a rapid slide, turning completely over, and bottom side up, floated away down the river. In an instant all were in the water. The sailors on board the schooner threw ropes to those who were within their reach and drew them on board. The citizens, as soon as possible, started out in row-boats to their rescue, but passed by Elijah, who was so close to the shore that they thought that he would be able to save himself. Why he did not reach the shore was a matter of much speculation in opinion afterwards, as he was known to be a good swimmer. When picked up, there was a mark on his forehead indicative of some injury, probably received when the scow capsized, causing him to become faint, or otherwise exhausted, if not unconscious.

They succeeded in saving two soldiers and two citizens. The soldiers' names are not known; but the two citizens were Mr. George Lester of Cold Springs and Mr. Lester Brace.

There were three soldiers, names not known, who were drowned, their bodies being afterwards picked up below the falls, and two citizens. The citizens were my father and my brother Elijah. The horse of Mr. George Lester of Cold Springs swam to the shore and was recovered.

In two or three days, or as soon as Mr. George Lester could find himself sufficiently recovered to call on our family, he came into town from Cold Springs and gave us the details of what had occurred.

While in the water, my father and Mr. George Lester were assisted by the buoyancy of a rail which they had joint possession of and which they hoped would be the means of keeping themselves above water, until help could reach them; but they soon realized that it was not sufficient for the two, and that one or the other must relinquish it. They discussed the chances of being saved, and, on Mr. George Lester saying that he could not swim, father let go of the rail and caught a piece of board which proved of no assistance, and he was lost. The body of Elijah was found on the ninth day after the accident, the 15th of June, 1813, close in shore, among some bushes not far below where he was last seen swimming; and was brought to Buffalo by Asaph S. Bemis. The body of my father was found on the fifteenth day after the accident, or the 21st of June, half way down to where Tonawanda now is. It was discovered by Mr. E. D. Efner and his partner, Mr. Sackett. These gentlemen had the body secured, through the help of some one living on the bank of the river, and then returned to Buffalo, giving up their mission to Tonawanda, where they were going on business. On their informing the family of these facts, Mr. Asaph S. Bemis went down to the place where the body was secured, and brought it to Buffalo.

Those events threw the family into a deepest gloom and despondency. The future before our mother, and the older

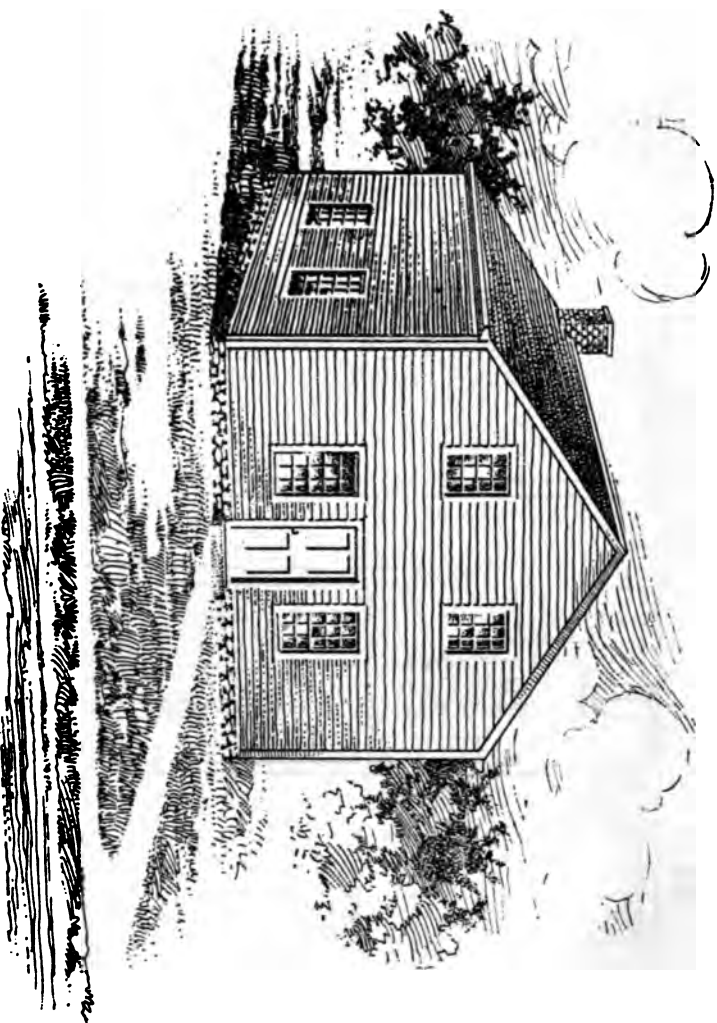
members of the family, can be better imagined than described. The chapter of their misfortunes was not yet ended; their salvation from wreck was fortitude. The family remaining was composed of our mother and nine children—six daughters and three sons; the respective ages of the three sons were eight, six and three years.

Our family were in the large house and the sign had previously been taken down. It was now evident that they could not conduct the house as a public house, and therefore arrangements were soon after made to lease it to Mr. Moseley Abell, afterwards a resident of Fredonia. Our mother administered upon the estate of Gamaliel St. John, deceased, sold personal property, paid debts and struggled on in an unsystematic way generally and at great disadvantage.

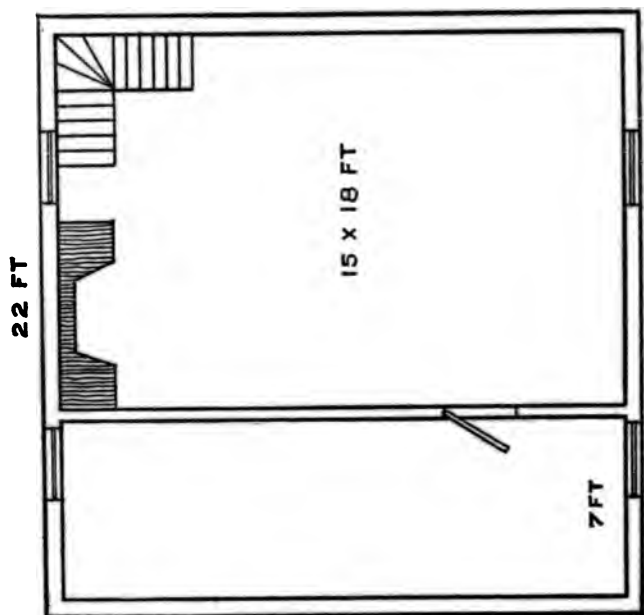
Immediately after the lease was made with Mr. Abell she went out to Clarence, where Mr. Otis R. Hopkins lived, and bargained for the house and lot (54) adjoining on the north side of the old homestead, or large house so rented to Mr. Abell, and the family moved into that house so purchased from Mr. Hopkins, where they lived when the village was burned.

Col. Preston's stay at Fort Erie was of short duration. In less than one month he, with his command, was ordered to another field where the demand was more urgent, there being no promise of any further or immediate necessity for troops in this vicinity. The removal of the forces under Col. Preston to a point somewhere on the frontier east of this, left Buffalo and its vicinity unprotected except by the militia. The people were in a feverish state of excitement; everything was in an unsettled and unstable condition; the timid, uncertain of their position, were devising plans of safety for their family, moving and counter-moving, and at last doing that which, as often as otherwise, proved to be unsafe and void of good judgment.

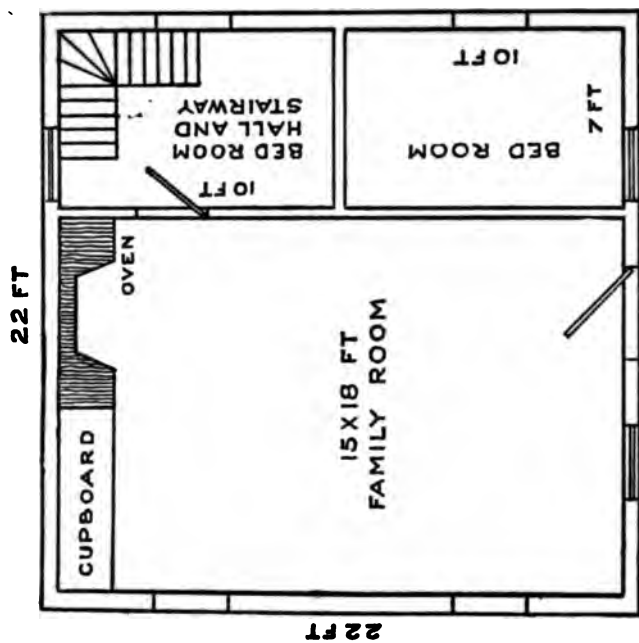
In the midst of this confused state of things our mother, like all true mothers, was ready to jeopardize her life for the future interests of her family. The large house, as be-



THE ST. JOHN HOUSE, ONLY DWELLING IN BUFFALO NOT DESTROYED IN THE WAR OF 1812
Drawn from a sketch and data preserved by Mrs. St. John's descendants. The house stood gable-end to the street.



UPPER STORY



LOWER STORY

FLOOR PLANS OF THE ST. JOHN HOUSE AS IT WAS AT THE TIME BUFFALO WAS BURNED

After many years the bed-room on the right of the ground floor was converted into a hall, and the street door moved so as to enter it.

fore stated, had been rented and the first quarter of the year's rent had been paid in advance. With this small capital the family took possession of the new purchase. It was a small, one-and-a-half story building, unfinished, being only enclosed, or the frame covered, and the floors laid, but standing on the walls of a good cellar. In dimensions on the ground it was 22 feet on the front, running not more than 20 or 22 feet back; possibly 22 feet square. It stood quite by itself on the west side of Main Street, in an open space, without fence or shrub about it, and back from the line of the street 25 feet.

Into that unfinished building the family stowed themselves away as best they could with a work-bench on the lower floor and the joiners working with all due diligence to get it in shape for their greater comfort. When finished the house was constructed with a four-paneled street door in the center of the front of the building, with a fifteen-light window of 7x9 glass on each side of the door and two windows above of twelve lights, each 7x9 glass, in line with the two below. A chimney and fireplace stood at the center of the west end of the building in line with and facing the street door. The street door opened without any hall or porch directly into the main room. On the right as one entered from the street was a bed room in the northeast corner half the length of the house, say seven by ten feet; further on, and adjoining this room and to the right of the chimney in the northwest corner of the building was a room of the same size, used as a stairway to get into the chamber and as a passageway out of the back door, and in which a scant place was appropriated for a small single bed. On the left of the chimney in the southwest corner was a cupboard for dishes and what was requisite for the tables and cooking. The chamber was divided into two rooms, the smaller bedroom being on the south side and running the whole length of the house, say 7x20 or 22 feet, with a window, twelve lights of 7x9 glass, in the west end; there was also a window, twelve lights 7x9, at the head of the stairs in the west

end of the main room and on the north side of the chimney. The eaves-troughs were worked out of a whitewood or cucumber tree and each was of one solid piece.

On Oct. 13, 1813, the people were suddenly called upon to give quarters to the troops drafted or called from the militia to defend the frontier. In the summer or fall of 1813 some of our people of Buffalo, not properly organized or connected with the army or Government, went over to Canada under the guidance of Col. Chapin, and were engaged in a work and various enterprises with which I am not conversant as to character, but about which there were many severe criticisms and caustic censures. While they were over there they were made prisoners and soon after the much-vaunted "retaking of themselves" took place.

The burning of Queenstown and Newark (Niagara, Ont.), was a measure that our mother, in common with others, boldly denounced as an exhibition of wantonness only fit for savages; and in all of her conversations, accused the perpetrators of that act of exhibiting a bravado that only belonged to cowardice and motives as mercenary as the cow-boys of the Revolution. She was wont to quote the biblical maxim, "Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap." They sowed the wind, and in due time we reaped the whirlwind.

The people of Buffalo were kept in a state of unrest by the nightly firing of cannon and other alarms to keep the people vigilant and to let the enemy, if any in hearing, know that our defenders were around.

This state of things went on with various minor events until the morning of the 30th day of December, 1813. The British had crossed the Niagara during the night before and that morning appeared in sight on the Black Rock road, now Niagara Street. The Canadian Indians were coming through the woods from Black Rock, scattered as far north as the Guideboard road, now North Street, and were driving and killing our scattered people wherever they overtook them. Among the citizens killed were Mr. Roop, the father

of the late Henry Roop, and "Sammy" Helms. The stalwart Seth Grosvenor and his friends, with the only gun at command, had stationed themselves at or near the junction of Main and Niagara streets and were doing such good service with it as the British were coming up Niagara Street as to bring them to a halt. While they were so engaged, Colonel Cyrenius Chapin appeared with a flag of truce and ordered the men to cease firing. Grosvenor told him to "go about his views if he liked, they intended to fire the cannon." Grosvenor and friends were so encouraged by their success that their ambition and zeal got the better of their judgment; they so overloaded the gun that it reacted with such violence as to become dismounted.

Grosvenor started for help to assist him in putting the cannon back on the carriage, and came to our house with the hope of finding someone for that purpose. Not finding any one there, stout-hearted as he was, he could not suppress his tears as he said to my mother, "If I had help to put that cannon up again I could drive the British back."

In the meantime Chapin went forward with his flag of truce and capitulated for the saving of many of the houses, his own included, from the torch of conflagration, while the rest were burned. Neither of our houses were mentioned in the capitulation, and the large house was fired that day, but the flames were extinguished by Sarah, afterwards Mrs. Wilkeson, drawing water, and mother, Maria and the hired man carrying and throwing it on the fire. The next (third) day, or before the British finally left, they burned it. The small house was neither included in the capitulation nor fired.

The people of the town had been forewarned of the approach of the enemy and as a general thing had fled. The British and their Indians left on the 31st of December, but the Indians under the immediate direction of Lieut. William Carr, an under-officer, and a half-breed, returned the third day and burned the large house, as he said, under peremptory orders.

Here ends the narrative of Mrs. Parnell Sidway. I was called away to Ohio, and never found it convenient to have another interview with her upon the subject. In December, 1876, I wrote to my sister, Martha St. John, now Mrs. Skinner, to send me her recollections; and in due time I received from her the following letter.

ORSON SWIFT ST. JOHN.



MARTHA ST. JOHN SKINNER.

FROM A PORTRAIT IN THE POSSESSION OF MR. FRANKLIN SIDWAY.

STORY OF THE ST. JOHN HOUSE

AND HOW IT WAS SAVED FROM DESTRUCTION BY
THE BRITISH AND INDIANS

BY MARTHA ST. JOHN SKINNER¹

DAUGHTER OF GAMALIEL AND MARGARET ST. JOHN

There were in Buffalo just before the burning, from 2,000 to 4,000 drafted and volunteer militia; they were encamped nearly in front of the old courthouse, and when ordered to march to Black Rock for the purpose of preventing the British from crossing, they went, I think, down Eagle Street, or possibly Court.

The house which mother bought from Otis R. Hopkins was only covered, but had the windows in, as it had been occupied by Mr. John Root and his wife Crissy (Christina), and also by Alva Sharpe and family. Sharpe's daughter Matilda was afterwards Mrs. — Dickinson. When our family moved into that small house, which was 22 feet front and running back not more than that, to make it more comfortable, as the winter was a very cold one, mother, assisted by the children, hung the inside of the house, next to the walls, with blankets and quilts. As I said, such a great number of troops had marched to Black Rock that the people felt safe. Mrs. Pomeroy and her daughter Minerva, afterwards Mrs. Champlain, and Mrs. Abell, wife of Moseley

1. This letter is dated "Clarence Place, Dorchester, near Boston, Mass., Dec. 22, 1876." Like the reminiscences of Mrs. Skinner's sister, Mrs. Sidway, in preceding pages, it was written at the request of Dr. Orson S. St. John for the Buffalo Historical Society, and is now first published. A brief portion of no historical interest is omitted.

Abell, and three children, were sitting up at our house listening to hear the guns at Black Rock, supposing we were safe, when suddenly the alarm gun boomed up with such an awful burst of thunder as aroused everybody, and people were soon flying every way for safety. We were soon prepared for a start, and Mr. Bemis, whose house was opposite ours on the east side of Main Street, was able with his wagon and horses to carry his family and part of ours, so we were all packed in, three girls and three boys, with beds, blankets and clothing, leaving mother, Maria and Sarah at the house. He drove out Main Street until he came to North Street. There we met our Seneca Indians retreating and the Canadian Indians pursuing and firing on them. The bullets came whistling by us and Mr. Bemis, not liking this music, turned his course and drove back, and said to my mother as we were flying past, that he would be compelled to go the other road on the lake shore, but would return as soon as possible and take away the remainder of the family.

But as we passed the head of Niagara Street, which was the place of the alarm gun, we looked down the road and saw the British army arrayed on Niagara Square, and a person on horseback facing them holding a white flag over his shoulder. The gun had been fired by the command of Seth Grosvenor when, too heavily loaded, it dismounted, and he said he could not gather together enough to help to set it back.

When we arrived at Pratt's ferry, one mile up the creek, we were compelled to wait our turn to cross. The ice was not thick enough to drive over, although people could walk across. After crossing we drove up the lake shore. The people came flying by us, some one way, some another. There was Mrs. Atkins, who had fallen off the horse into the quicksand with her baby. We came to Mr. Barker's tavern, eight miles from Buffalo. Mrs. Barker was very sick and died the 10th of January. We pursued our journey on toward Willink, for as we were waiting for our way over the creek we saw the smoke of the burning village coming over the trees, so we knew it would be of no use to return.

It was past 12 o'clock noonday when we left Mr. Barker's and we found snow and night coming on. We had a heavy load of household goods and Mr. Bemis and his wife and their child, a baby. My sister Margaret (Mrs. Foot), my sister Parnell (Mrs. Sidway now), and myself (Mrs. Martha St. John Skinner now); my brother, John Ransom St. John of Lockport, and brother Le Grand Canun St. John, and Orson Swift St. John, the youngest child in mother's family, three years old.

Now to our journey from Barker's to Willink. The way was long and the night cold. When we were about three miles from the tavern at Willink, something in the road, I believe a very steep place, the horses pulling hard caused something about the wagon to break and we were all compelled to get out of the wagon. So we three sisters walked along ahead, leaving the rest of the party with the wagon; but the snow was deep and the road was strange and we could hear nothing of our friends we had left behind us. Two or three roads came together at one place. We were unable to determine which road to take. Soon I heard a loud roaring in the woods, and I looked and saw a ball of fire coming, as I thought, from Buffalo, which might be some of the fire from the burning houses blown over the tops of the trees. We stood still till that passed; then another, then another, which were like meteors, throwing off fire. We then pursued our course, taking the road over which the meteors flew.

After daylight we arrived at a log tavern. I do not remember the name of the people who lived there. We went into the first room we could, and that was a large room with a large log fire. We were nearly benumbed with the cold, and when we approached the fire I saw Mrs. Sophia Pratt, wife of Mr. Samuel Pratt and mother of Mr. Samuel F. Pratt, late of Buffalo. She was sitting in one corner watching some cooking going on for breakfast. She reached out her hand and took my hand and drew me to her and placed me between herself and the fire, keeping my hands against her head and face to drive out the pain from my fingers and

saying kind words and comforting us all she could. I often think of her and think what a dear good woman she was.

We were getting quite comfortable; she was preparing for breakfast with baking bread, frying meat, and the most savory smell of sausage. Presently there came in, all nearly frozen, Mr. and Mrs. Bemis and baby and our three little brothers, John R. St. John, Le Grand C. St. John and Orson S. St. John; they had all come on horseback. They had left the wagon, load and all and taken the horses, Mrs. Bemis on one horse with her baby in her arms, and one of the little boys on the back or behind her on the horse. Mr. Bemis took the other horse with one little boy in his arms and the other behind him. They arrived all safe, but very cold.

As soon as she could get warm enough, Mrs. Bemis commenced her preparations for breakfast, making a large boiler full of chocolate and all that could be gathered together for a comfortable meal. Mr. Samuel F. Pratt told me, one time when I met him at a party at Mrs. Sidway's, that she, his mother, had her bread ready to bake, and finding she could not bake it in Buffalo she put it in a pillow-case and carried it to Willink to bake.

I think Mr. Bemis procured a sleigh to proceed on with. We left the house full of people, many of whom went no further. I saw two of Dr. Cyrenius Chapin's daughters who the *Buffalo Gazette* said walked all of the way from Buffalo.

Now we will proceed on our journey through Hamburg and Boston, over hills so high that it seemed as if we were going into the clouds. We arrived at Warsaw, which was in a valley, a pretty place, with a long bridge. We stayed there, or not far from there, until Mr. Bemis could return to Buffalo, as we knew nothing of the fate of those we had left at Buffalo.

I cannot say that Mr. Bemis came back for us; I think it was the hired man, with horses and sleigh, that came and carried us all back. We learned who were alive and that our small house was not burned. We returned through the Indian village and stopped at Cornplanter's to warm us. The sun was setting as we drove over that beautiful prairie

ground. The squaws were carrying bundles of sticks to their wigwams or huts. We came into Buffalo in time to see the chimneys standing. All seemed gloomy and desolate.

We soon came in sight of our own home. The cellar walls were standing and the chimney on the north side of the hall and the one on the south side of the hall were standing. The large stone step on Main Street was firm in its place against the front wall.

How sad was the change since we had seen it last! Tears were nothing now; everybody had been weeping for days. While we were waiting at the ferry, in our flight from Buffalo, I heard a loud groan and saw people looking up at the tops of the trees. I turned my eyes and saw those awful clouds of smoke rolling over and over and the women shrieking and sobbing and all could avail them naught, for the destruction was commenced.

Therefore, when we met our mother we tried to be thankful for the small house, knowing our former home was lost with nearly all the proceeds of a father's life, "whose constant care was to increase his store."

In the recital concerning the morning after we had left Buffalo, my sister Sarah said, mother was standing in the door and Mr. Seth Grosvenor came along with a white flag on a walking-stick. He said if he could only gather citizens enough to assist him he could drive the enemy back; as he had sent the contents of that gun among them with the effect of mowing them down.

Just then some few men on horseback were coming from Court Street, and as they came nearer mother walked out to the road. The headmost one drew his rein, and she said to him:

"For mercy's sake, do turn back and help Mr. Grosvenor manage that cannon and defend the town; and let General Hall go; he must be an awful coward."

At that he raised his hat, drew rein and his horse set off on a dignified trot, and the rest followed. Mother was soon informed that she had been talking to General Hall himself.

She said she did not wish to recall her words, that if she had known him she would have said more.

My mother said she saw an Indian pulling the curtains down from the window of the Lovejoy house opposite, and saw Mrs. Lovejoy strike his hand with a carving-knife, and saw the Indian raise the hatchet; but as the door closed she could not know certain that he killed her. She did not dare to go and see.

Soon there came along an advance guard with a cannon, and a British colonel on horseback. He spoke very cross, and said, "Why are you not away?"

Mother said she had lost the opportunity and now she had nowhere to go to, only out in the cold and perish in the snow. He said, "I have just now seen a very unpleasant sight in the house over the way. The Indians have killed a woman and I am very sorry any such thing should happen."

"Well," said mother, "I was fearful she would provoke them to kill her. I spoke to her, and said, 'Do not risk your life for property'; she answered, 'When my property goes, my life shall go with it'."

My mother asked the colonel to set a sentinel by the large house and the one she was in to prevent the Indians from coming in and burning the two houses. He said he had no such command; that she must go to Gen. Riall; he could say what might be done. The colonel then moved along with his party and cannon.

The squaws were in the house plundering when she returned, and very soon there came in a little dwarf and spoke very lively to my mother and said, "Do not be frightened, madam, you need not fear; there was an order issued this morning from the Canadian officer that no person should be molested who was obliged to stay from sickness or old age or any accident or misfortune."

My mother said, "Where is your commanding officer?"

Just down here in a log house on the Niagara road." This was at the Edsall tannery, near the junction of Mohawk, Niagara and Morgan streets. So, as a squaw had

taken off mother's veil and bonnet and also her cloak and had put her own squaw blanket about mother's shoulders, and had served Sarah with the same change of dress, they and Maria and the dwarf set off together, he having informed my mother that he could speak six different languages and was the interpreter for General Riall. They took their course down to the corner of Delaware and Niagara streets, that is, Niagara Square, and were ushered into the presence of the Indian commander by the dwarf interpreter. The bluff old man said:

"What do you require?"

Mother replied, "I came to ask you to send a guard to keep the Indians from burning my house and from plundering our goods and clothing."

He spoke a few words to the guide, and they retraced their steps back to their home. The interpreter took his seat by the door. Being winter, the door was closed and the Indians would bang their guns against it. When the door was opened, the interpreter would speak and they would go away, looking as if they had met with a severe reproof.

In the course of the day the house of Mrs. Lovejoy was set on fire and mother and sisters Maria and Sarah, with the hired man, old Mr. Pettingill, and others, went to the house and took the body of Mrs. Lovejoy out and laid it on a pile of boards by the side of the fence, so it would not be consumed by the fire. Then they went into the house and saw it did not burn fast, so they made an attempt to put out the fire and did succeed; and when night was coming on they thought they would carry the body in again, and as the old man was very weak and feeble they needed more help. They looked up the street and saw Mr. Walden. So sister Sarah started on a run to ask him to come and assist. He came, and with mother, Maria and Sarah lifted her and carried her in and laid her on the cords of a bedstead.

Let me interrupt my recollections for a moment. I recently received a number of the Sandusky (O.) *Clarion*, containing an account of her appearance, by a gentleman living in Ohio, near Sandusky. He said he was a boy at the

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time that Buffalo was burned and was living, about a half mile from Buffalo towards Black Rock; that his father took his gun and went to the battle; that he and his mother prepared breakfast, but before they could eat his father returned and said they had no time to lose, the British were just behind them; so they dashed out and followed with the crowd and came up to where they were loading the gun, ready for resistance, but they did not dare to stop. They followed the crowd up the creek, but they did not cross the creek, staying about and sleeping that night in a barn. The next morning they returned to the village and went to Mrs. St. John's (my mother's) and got some breakfast, and they then went over to see Mrs. Lovejoy. She was lying on the bedstead; she was a tall woman, was dressed in a black silk dress, with her long black hair hanging down or reaching through the cords and lying on the floor. He said they all stood about her and shed tears.

Then the Indians came again the third day and set the house on fire and she was burned in it, and Mr. Lovejoy came and gathered her bones in a handkerchief and buried them.

Our large house had been set on fire, and Sarah drew water from the well and mother, Maria and the old hired man carried it and poured it on the fire until it was out. Then there was a sentinel set to guard it, but after the bugle horn blew for retreat, the third day, there came back an Indian on horseback with a waiter on another horse. The officer dismounted and gave his rein to his waiter and went into the house and began to gather some combustible material, such as papers and straw and the clock case, from which a squaw had taken the works. This he split up, and blew one pistol into it, and set fire to it. My mother had just arrived and attempted to put out the fire. At that the Indian, who spoke English, told her she must go to her house, for he intended to burn that one.

She said she would have no income if that was destroyed, "and I am a widow and I have also lost my sons."

He said: "Very likely that may be true, but we have left you one roof, and that is more than the Americans left for our widows when they came over; they only left the brands of the houses after they were burned."

He then drew another pistol, and pointed it at her and said if she wished to save her life she must leave and return to her house they had left for her.

My mother said: "I do not intend to risk my life for property, but this is my home. I took the other to have the income from this."

He said, "Very probable; but this would be a rendezvous for four thousand troops before tomorrow night." This was the last day. The barn was burned on the first day.

On the first day some of the British ordered the old hired man to burn the barn. The old man came in wiping his eyes. Mother said, "What is the matter?" He answered, "I must do what I never did expect to do. They say I must burn your barn. See, they have taken the woollen mittens you gave me and made me take these old, wornout buckskin gauntlets." Mother said, "Oh, well, it cannot be helped; you had better obey their orders." So he took the brand of fire from the hearth and went and set the barn on fire.

This was on the first morning and at the same time that they set fire to the large house; but Sarah drew the water and Maria and mother and the old man poured it on the fire and put it out. The day that intervened between the burning of the barn and the final burning of the house was New Year's day, the morning of which the boy and his mother came to get their breakfast and visited the house of Mrs. Lovejoy. She laid in her house that New Year's day and that night and was burned in her house on the next day, being the second day of January.

Many of the houses were standing on New Year's day; our own large house was not burned until the last day of the burning and all had been burned but ours. When the bugle horn blew the sentinels were removed and all had left, when the Indian, Carr, a half-breed who married Brant's daughter, returned, resolved to burn it.

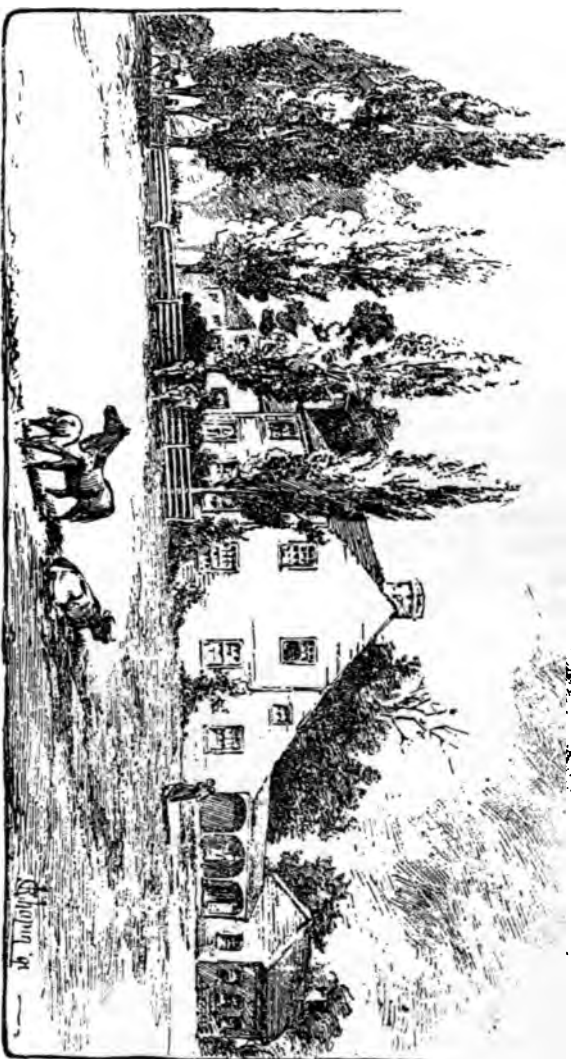
This being the second day of January, it had been hoped that those houses would be saved ; but while at breakfast the old man came in and said : "I think I have heard the Indians' whoop down towards Black Rock." They rose up, my mother took the tablecloth for a flag and waved it out of a window, the west chamber window at the head of the stairs ; and seeing an Indian running by the house she looked to see where he was going, and saw Sarah running towards Mohawk Street. The old hired man was trying to run, too, but he stumbled and the Indian helped to lift him up and took some vermilion and painted his face. So, seeing that, Sarah turned back and shook hands with the Indian, and he painted her face. She returned to the house.

Then there came along the British officer on horseback and stopped near the house and said, "Why did you not go away?" Mother told him she had nowhere to go. He said he had just seen a sad sight in that house over the way, and mother said she thought Mrs. Lovejoy had provoked the Indian.

When the officer saw the paint on Sarah's face he asked how that came to be so. She told how she attempted to run away on seeing the Indian that morning, but as she saw he was not disposed to murder the old hired man, she turned back and was painted, too. The officer looked very angry about it and told her to go and wash it off. She said if the Indian should see her again she was afraid he would be displeased. He said he would insure her safety. She then went and washed her face.

The officer rode along and the Indians commenced burning the houses again. Burning Mr. Lovejoy's and Mr. Bemis's house over the way, opposite ours, and all were burned and the sentinels removed. After all was quiet that Indian, Carr, returned and burned the large house, saying if left it would be a rendezvous for four thousand men before the next night.

In a few days we returned and all our neighbors came into town and the mothers from Bloomfield came out to Buffalo to identify their sons, who had been killed and



HOMESTEAD OF ERASTUS GRANGER, TO WHICH MANY REFUGEES FLED, DECEMBER, 1813

Drawn by John R. Chapin in 1891, from data furnished by Judge Granger's descendants. The site of the house is still marked by two old Lombardy poplars, in the east part of Forest Lawn cemetery, not far from Main Street.

buried in a mound in the grave-ground.² They had been buried without coffins. My mother gave the Bloomfield people refreshments and they warmed by the fire and seemed to be sadly afflicted.

In a few days, Judge Granger said to my mother that his family were in Canandaigua and he was going there to stay the remainder of the winter, that he was afraid to leave his house empty for fear it would be filled with soldiers; that he would leave his sisters, Mrs. Remington and her family and Mrs. Forward and her family, and he would give a room or two to my mother if she would move out there, and that would leave no room for the quartermaster to take. So we made ready to accept Judge Granger's kind offer, and moved to his place out on the Three-mile Creek. Before moving, mother rented the small house to Mr. Holden Allen, father of Levi Allen, for \$300.

By the kindness of an aunt, Mrs. Philander Bennett's mother, part of the family were carried away to Oneida County and the younger part, with my mother, moved out to the Granger farm. We were very comfortable, with old John Puffinburg to take care of all of the families and a very large flock of sheep.

2. This burial was probably in the old Franklin-square cemetery, now the site of the City Hall. There were however many burials of soldiers during and after the war, at other points in the present city; some on the Terrace, some in what is now Delaware Avenue below Eagle, and others in old "Sandy Town," below the Terrace, on the banks of the Niagara, and at several places in Black Rock.

A BUFFALO BOY OF 1813

HIS RECOLLECTIONS OF THE WAR OF 1812, AND THE
BURNING OF BUFFALO

BY WILLIAM HODGE¹

Sixty-four years ago this 31st day of December, 1877, the then village of Buffalo was laid in ashes by the British. In reviewing the events of that memorable day I do not wish to criticise any statements that have been made in histories or newspapers concerning the movements of our troops, or any of the occurrences of that time, but having passed more years in Buffalo than any man now living and feeling as great if not a greater interest than others in the past, present and future of our city, I feel justified in pointing out and correcting some of the errors that have gone into history concerning the burning of Buffalo and in stating facts, most of them of my own personal knowledge and recollection, in their stead.

In the summer campaign of 1813 our army was withdrawn from Canada and upon doing so our commander, General McClure, after blowing up Fort George, very unwisely and unnecessarily burned Newark, now known as Niagara, Ont. This proceeding greatly enraged the Canadians and they boldly declared that they would be revenged by burning some of our villages, and Buffalo especially

1. The reminiscences here printed, of the burning of Buffalo, by one who witnessed it and shared in the events of the time, contain some details not elsewhere recorded, and correct some statements in the histories. The account was written in Mr. Hodge's old age, on the sixty-fourth anniversary of the principal events described, and is here printed from a paper deposited with the Buffalo Historical Society. Mr. Hodge died April 24, 1887.

should be destroyed by fire; and all the residents of Buffalo felt that if possible they would carry out this intended retaliation.

In consequence of this and the presence of the English troops across the river, militia men were raised in different parts of our country and sent on to Buffalo for protection. For a number of weeks and up to the time the British crossed the river they continued to pour into the village until it was said we had between 3,000 and 4,000 men under arms. The British force that crossed afterwards proved to have amounted to 1,200 regulars and 200 or 300 Indians.

It was supposed our army was of strength sufficient to whip and drive back any force that would be sent against us.

I remember well how much our commander, General Hall, was censured for rousing our men from their slumbers and marching them down Niagara Street, on one of the darkest of dark nights, to meet the British regulars in open fight and allowing our troops to be outflanked by the Indians, whose savage yells coming on all sides from an unseen foe, were enough to frighten even bolder hearts than were possessed by these new recruits, but a few days from their farms and homes. It was the universal judgment that our men should have been kept where they were and prepared to meet the enemy when they should arrive near the village, which would have been after daylight.

Upon examination of the different historical accounts of the events that took place in our immediate vicinity on the day Buffalo was burned, I fail to find anything of a full and correctly detailed description, but find some statements published in the journals of the day, written evidently by those who knew but little of the actual facts, or certainly they would not have been so incorrect.

My father and his family were absent from our home but one week. Our house being burned, we returned and lived in a house near by and put up an addition immediately.

My father kept a public house or tavern all through and after this war, and the house was thronged with company. All battles and events of the war were fully related and dis-

cussed in our bar-room, and I, although but a boy, heard much that was said, as I was required to be there much of the time to wait on the guests.

Boys hear and remember many things that older people sometimes forget or think of not sufficient importance to put on record as a matter of history; but history is made up of little things, which, placed in detail, help to make up the whole.

I will endeavor to state as I remember them and as I heard them many times related, and over and over again repeated during the weeks and months immediately following the day of the burning.

For some days previous and until the morning of that day, there had been a company of our cavalry stationed at my father's public house on the hill just above Cold Spring. It was a patrol of this company which, between one and two o'clock on the morning of Dec. 30, 1813, first discovered the British on this side.

They had landed a short distance below Squaw Island, then had marched up and crossed Scajaquada Creek on the old bridge, which was not far from its mouth, and continuing their march had easily captured our lower battery. This battery was nearly at the head of Squaw Island. They had met with but little opposition from their first landing to this place. At or near this place they were met by our militia. It had gotten to be nearly daylight. About this time another force of the enemy crossed and landed nearly opposite where their first body stood formed in line. At this point the battle was fought.

Many of our men on the march from the village down to Black Rock had left the ranks and when our force met the enemy, more than half of our militia had deserted and fled through the woods. Those who remained fought well for a time, but very soon broke their ranks and fled, and then ensued a general stampede of our entire force into and through the woods. The enemy continued their march up the Black Rock road, or Niagara Street, meeting with no opposition excepting from the brave Col. Cyrenius Chapin and a few

followers who brought to bear on them a small field piece. It was commonly reported after the battle of that morning that the British officers had said that they were on the point of surrendering to our force and if our men had stood their ground and given them one more volley they would have done so.

These erroneous statements published in many of the eastern newspapers were probably obtained from those who first left the scene of action (if they were in it at all) and the editors of course published the first accounts they could get, which undoubtedly came from those who first ran away.

There were a number of our neighbors and townsmen in the battle that morning; among them two of my uncles, Loring and Alfred Hodge. After the battle these two returned to their homes in the vicinity of Cold Spring and with their father, Benjamin Hodge, Sr., and their brother, William Hodge, were the last to leave the neighborhood, and it was not until the flames were doing their destroying work down in the village.

After our men had broken ranks and commenced to run there was no such thing as stopping them. They took to the woods in an easterly direction and when they came out the fields between the Guide Board road and Cold Spring were covered with our "gallant" soldiery. One man wounded in the shoulder by a musket ball came across the fields to the house of the widow Cotton, a near neighbor. While George W. Cotton, her son, was getting off the man's coat to examine and dress the wound, the cry was so strong that the British and Indians were coming, that the wounded man would not wait but ran across the road and into the woods following scores of others upon a full run. And yet Mrs. Cotton and her family and most of the other families in the village had not as yet left their homes. The fact is that our militia army and most of the officers were far ahead of the inhabitants in fleeing before the enemy that morning; the officers showing and practicing as much cowardice as the men.

There was a feeble effort made to rally the men at the Cold Spring, but they could no more be stopped than a flock of sheep when they once get started to go by you. At Williamsville bridge they succeeded better, some being stopped there and continuing to keep a guard at that place.

In the *Manlius Times*, published Jan. 4, 1814, there is an account published, and copied into the appendix of Ketchum's "History of Buffalo," of the battle of the 30th ult., the day Buffalo was burned, which contains several errors.

It states that the skirmish that took place with our militia was when the enemy landed, and lasted several hours; while in truth, our force stationed there being small, retreated almost immediately. Again it says: "Toward daylight a body of regulars, from 800 to 1,000, with cannon, etc., landed at the mouth of Buffalo Creek, directly above the village." This is entirely false. Then it says: "Our men finding themselves attacked on both flanks, immediately retreated or rather fled through the woods on to the road near Major Miller's" (at Cold Spring). As far as the retreating or fleeing is concerned this is true, but then it proceeds with: "Here Gen. Hall rallied them and conducted them towards Buffalo, where they met the enemy, and considerable hard fighting took place." This is not true. There was no marching back, no rallying and no fighting. This must have been written by one who drew largely on his imagination.

From a letter in Ketchum's history dated Jan. 3, 1814, to General Porter at Albany, I quote the following: "The enemy then (that was after the battle) marched to Buffalo, a detachment taking the road to Granger's mills" (on Scajquada Creek). This was not so, as none of the enemy went out there that day with the exception of some scouting Indians. Some few Indians did come up the Guide Board road (now North Street) and shot at our people as they were passing on Main Street, wounding one man in the knee, but they did not come up as far as the main road.

What little Mr. Turner says in his "History of the Holland Purchase" in relation to the battle of that day is correct,

excepting where he says: "Looking up Main Street Judge Walden saw a small force approaching, and immediately started to meet it. It proved to be a detachment of forty regular soldiers under the command of Lieut. Riddle marching in to save the village," etc. I think this statement must be without any good foundation as I never had heard or seen any account of such an event. If it had been a fact I think some of us would have known of it and it would have been spoken of at that time or immediately after.

Our family fled from our home late that morning, not until the enemy had arrived in the village. We were on the road all the way to Williamsville and three miles beyond and nothing was seen or heard of any soldiers going toward Buffalo. The fact is all had their faces turned toward the other way and seemed to be in a great hurry.

Another account says: "The enemy remained on this side until Saturday." This, too, is a mistake. They all returned across the river the same day they came (Thursday). It was known afterwards that they said they dared not remain over night, fearing their retreat would be cut off. These things were spoken of at that time and I have no doubt were true.

It is well known that some of the enemy returned the following Saturday and finished their work of destruction by burning the few remaining buildings on the outskirts of the village. They also took about thirty citizens as prisoners and carried them over to Canada. On this same Saturday a half-blood British Indian came on to the main road just above Cold Spring to my father's joiner shop where some household goods and clothing were stored. He proceeded to make up a bundle of such things as he desired, brought them out and laid them over the fence. He then went to Mr. Hodge's dwelling house which had just been set on fire by the enemy, took a brand and crossed the road to set the barn which stood across the street on fire. Just then a company of our horsemen came up from towards Cold Spring and took him prisoner.

The same day, a little before this occurrence, three British Indians came into the back door of Major Miller's tavern at Cold Spring. They found in the house a Mrs. Martin, an inmate of the major's family. They were about to set fire to the house when Mrs. Martin delayed them by furnishing food, as they seemed to be somewhat hungry. Mrs. Martin had been informed that there would be a company of horsemen there soon, and was desirous of preventing them setting the house on fire until they arrived. They did come galloping up while the Indians were yet eating, who, when they discovered our horsemen, left the house by the same way they came, but in a far greater hurry, and ran across the fields into the woods. This company of horsemen was under the command of Colonel Totman, and had been stationed for the day at Atkins' tavern, the "Old Homestead," on Buffalo Plains.

It is related at the time that while stationed there one of the horsemen gave chase to an Indian on Walden's Hill. The Indian jumped the fence and was making good time across the fields towards the woods when a man opened the fence for the horseman to pass through, who, putting his horse at high speed, overtook the Indian before he reached the woods and cut him down with his sabre.

Colonel Totman was shot from his horse on that day and instantly killed, by a British horseman. He fell from his horse by the side of the road, directly opposite to where Riley Street enters Main. His body was carried out to the Harris Hill Tavern by laying it across a horse's back, and I saw his body that evening lying on the bar-room table. The Indian that was taken while trying to fire our barn was put in charge of a Dr. Tourtlelot, who, in company with another man, escorted him out to or near Batavia, where he was shot and killed. They reported that he attempted to make his escape.

The people living at a distance from the scene of war were more frightened than those who were in the immediate vicinity. This was shown by many families living fifteen to

twenty miles away from Buffalo moving away from their homes on the morning the village was burned, and not returning until the following spring, their houses in the meantime being occupied oftentimes by those whose homes in the village had been burned.

IN THE MIDST OF ALARMS

EXPERIENCES OF BUFFALO FAMILIES UNDER THE FIRE OF
THE ENEMY IN THE WAR OF 1812

BY MRS. BENJAMIN BIDWELL¹

About the last of October, 1812, we were alarmed by the British firing across the Niagara river, though nothing serious occurred until our men crossed and cut out the two vessels then stationed off Fort Erie, which caused great excitement. While trying to bring them across one of them got away and floated down the river, landing on the out side of Squaw Island, where she grounded, and the British burned her. The other, they brought over safe and landed her in Scajaquada creek. While General Schuyler was giving orders to his men to get ropes from a storehouse to tow her down, a cannon-ball took his head off, as he sat on his horse. This caused a still greater alarm, and the inhabitants one and all sought safe places of refuge.

My husband, Benjamin Bidwell, came home at sunrise and requested me to get ready to go with him to his sister's

1. Now first printed from a manuscript dated "Buffalo, Feb. 22, 1864," deposited with the Buffalo Historical Society. Mrs. Bidwell was the wife of Benjamin Bidwell, of the firm of Bidwell & Banta, pioneer ship-builders of Buffalo. He died Dec. 21, 1862. She came from Connecticut to Buffalo in 1810, and at her death, March 4, 1875, there were few in Buffalo who had lived here so long as she. She had nine children, the eldest, John, being the child whom she carried in her arms when she fled from British cannon-balls. Another son was the lamented General Daniel D. Bidwell, killed at Cedar Creek, Va., Oct. 19, 1864, while fighting for the Union. His memory is preserved in Buffalo by the names of Bidwell-Wilkeson Post, G. A. R., Bidwell Parkway, etc. For a sketch of the Bidwell family, see the *Buffalo Times*, June 9, 1901.

Mrs. Stanard's, who lived across a small run near by, not more than 100 feet distant. As the cellar to her house was barricaded we thought it a safe retreat; but while we were going to Mrs. Stanard's a cannon-ball passed us, the concussion of which threw down a little girl I was leading by the hand, but no injury was done her. My child being sick, I was obliged to carry him in my arms.

When we arrived at our sister's, we concluded the woods would be a safer place, accordingly we directed our journey thither, where we met with many of our acquaintances; among others, Mrs. Sill and Mrs. Sealey, with their families. Mrs. Sill sent to her house for provisions and cooking utensils. After we had kindled a fire and had the breakfast nearly ready, another cannon-ball took possession of it, scattering it all over the woods; whereupon we thought best to scatter ourselves and not wait for the enemy's balls to do it.

Mr. Bidwell went back to Mr. Stanard's barn, harnessed the horses, hitched them to the wagon, returned to the woods, took all the children and such as could not walk, in the wagon; and leaving the rest to follow, we went out to Cold Springs and stopped with Mr. Hodge, where we succeeded in getting our breakfast after 4 o'clock p. m. After tarrying with Mr. Hodge one night and two days, we returned to our homes.

Some two or three weeks after this, a party of soldiers and sailors crossed the river, spiked the cannon and burned the barracks just opposite our house. A house belonging to Mr. Douglas they made their quarters, where they kept their prisoners and their dead and wounded, and brought Lieut. King to a house across the road from our house, where he remained until his death from wounds. While he was there, I did his cooking.

We were next disturbed on Sunday the 15th of July, when the alarm was given that the redcoats had crossed the river and were marching on Buffalo, taking our men prisoners as they went along. Col. Bishops [Bisshopp], commanding the expedition of the redcoats, came to me, wishing

to enter a grocery owned by Mr. Williams, which had been left in my possession, under the plea of wishing to buy tea and tobacco. As there was none, he found a cask of goods that was to be sent to Fort George. Being anxious to see its contents he took his sword and commenced ripping it open. While doing so, the trumpet sounded and he left for the battlefield. Where the house built afterwards by General Porter now stands, Col. Bisshopp was shot from his horse. They took him to the beach, placed him in a boat to carry him across the river, and he died.

The next day, Monday, we left our home and went to the Plains, stopping with Mr. Atkins one week, when we again returned to our homes, where we remained until Lewiston was burned. Being again alarmed, we went to Mr. Curtiss' place on the Plains and stayed about ten days. In the meantime the Government had possession of our home for quarters.

We did not return again until after the burning of Buffalo. Our house being burned with the rest, we went from Mr. Curtiss's to Harris' tavern, beyond Eleven-mile creek. From there we went to Spooner's tavern, where we found a great many from Buffalo, the Wells and Johnson families and others. From there we started for Kinderhook on the North river. We did not return until the next August.

In the following November we rebuilt part of our house. During a great part of the time Mr. Bidwell was engaged in building the fleet at Sackett's Harbor and Erie, and at the burning of Buffalo he was one of the volunteers who started from Cold Springs to try and protect Buffalo, and drive the redcoats back. At the time Col. Bisshopp was shot, Mr. Bidwell and Mr. Stanard were engaged in making oars for the Government.



ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,

Head-Quarters, Quebec, 8th Jan'y. 1814

GENERAL ORDERS.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER OF THE FORCES has the satisfaction of announcing to the Troops, that he has received a Despatch from Lieut. General *Drummond*, reporting the complete success of an attack that was made at day break, on the morning of the 30th December, on the Enemy's position at Black Rock, where he was advantageously posted, with upwards of 2000 men, and after a short, but severe contest, the Enemy was repulsed in the most gallant manner, and pursued in his retreat to Buffalo, where he attempted to make a stand, but on receiving a few rounds from the British Field Pieces, he abandoned that Post also, and fled with precipitation to the 11 Mile Creek, on Lake Erie, leaving 7 Field Pieces, and 4 Schooners and Sloops, with a considerable quantity of Ordnance and other valuable Stores, which have fallen into our hands.—The Enemy suffered severely, but from the rapidity of his flight, 70 Prisoners only, are taken, among whom is Doctor or Lieut. Colonel *Chapin*.

The Corps under Major General *Riall*, consisted of Detachments from the Royal Scots, 8th (or King's) 41st, and the Flank Companies of the 89th and 100th Regiments, the whole not exceeding 1000 men.

The Lieutenant General bestows the highest praise upon the undaunted courage and patient submission of the Troops, in contempt of the inclemency of the weather, and the hardships to which they were exposed.

No British Officer has fallen on this occasion: Lieut. Col. *Ogilvie*, 8th, (or King's,) and Capt. *Fawcett*, 100th Grenadiers, were wounded, and it is supposed our loss does not exceed 25 killed, and 50 wounded.

Black Rock and Buffalo, were Burnt previous to their evacuation by our Troops, together with all the Public Buildings and the Four Vessels. A considerable quantity of Stores having been sent away before the conflagration.

EDWARD BAYNES,

Adjutant General, N. A.

FACSIMILE OF BRITISH GENERAL ORDERS, ANNOUNCING THE
BURNING OF BUFFALO AND BLACK ROCK.

(Reduced one-third.)

From an original issue in the library of the Buffalo Historical Society.

A PIONEER PATRIOT

NARRATIVE OF A NOTABLE DEFENDER OF THE NIAGARA
FRONTIER IN THE STRENUOUS OLD DAYS

BY DANIEL BRAYMAN¹

I was born in Connecticut, Sept. 16, 1788; married Oct. 6, 1809, Miss Anna English, at Exeter, Otsego Co., N. Y. She was born January, 1786, in Nova Scotia. We came to Buffalo March 18, 1810, and lived near Cold Spring.

Buffalo was then a small village with two or three stores. One was kept by Samuel Pratt and another by Vincent Grant. A small tavern stood near the corner of Main and Crow (now Exchange) streets. This was kept by Joseph Landon. There was also another one on West Seneca near Main Street, — Cook, proprietor. Messrs. Harris and Reese had a blacksmith shop near the Terrace. There were one or two other blacksmiths in the place and also one tailor by the name of Sackreider. No church graced the village and there was no preaching except occasional sermons by traveling missionaries.

Main Street was a very muddy country road. Near where Court Street now is, was a large growth of oak shrub-

1. These reminiscences of Daniel Brayman were written out for him, Feb. 24, 1864, by his grandson, Mr. George D. Emerson, and deposited with the Buffalo Historical Society. Mr. Brayman died Aug. 5, 1867, at Springfield, Ill.

A son of this pioneer and soldier of the early Buffalo was Mason Brayman, born in Buffalo in 1813, and in 1835 editor of the *Buffalo Bulletin*, the first daily paper in Buffalo. He was admitted to the bar in 1836, served with distinction in the Civil War, and was an early Governor of Idaho territory. He was a man of many accomplishments and achievements. He died Feb. 27, 1895. An excellent sketch of his career, with portrait, is contained in the *Buffalo Express*, March 10, 1895.

bery and between the Terrace and Buffalo creek was a large swamp tenanted by thousands of frogs. The ground, now laid out in those beautiful avenues North and South Division streets, was then also very wet and swampy. .

The village continued to increase until the war broke out. This was declared on the 17th of June, 1812. Our Canadian neighbors received the news before we did, as the first intimation we had of war was the seizure of the vessel *Experiment*. She was one of the first boats that sailed on Lake Erie.² Buffalo then had no harbor and it was customary for the vessels to start from Black Rock, come up the river, and lay off Buffalo, sending into shore for the load. It was a calm, quiet day and the *Experiment* had taken up position a little way in the lake to receive her cargo from Buffalo, when the British soldiers in and around Fort Erie crossed over in their small boats, boarded and captured the vessel. We then knew that war had been declared.

This was in the afternoon of the 27th of June. About sunset that evening Capt. Hannon came drumming along for a guard to defend Buffalo. I shouldered my musket and started. We assembled on the Terrace, which was then a low bluff, to the number of forty-five men armed and equipped with such weapons and munitions as could be gathered at a moment's notice. A grand army surely to resist the veterans of England should they take a notion to come! We were the first ones that performed duty in Buffalo. We paraded and blustered around that evening, making a considerable noise, but I am not aware that anybody was very seriously injured. The militia began to arrive soon after and our magnificent *corps-d'armée* was disbanded.

Niagara Street then ran straight from the hill to the river and the first battery was built near where the street came out. I shouldered my shovel and helped throw up the work.

2. The *Experiment* was a schooner of thirty tons, built at Buffalo before the War of 1812, but can hardly be called "one of the first boats" on Lake Erie, since the British had several vessels on the lake from 1761, and several American vessels were built at Lake Erie ports before the *Experiment*.

In July, 1813, the British crossed over below Scajaquada creek. A bridge spanned the stream and a sentinel had been stationed there to give the alarm should the enemy come. On the rise of ground above the creek a blockhouse had been built which was then garrisoned by a few men. The sentinel saw the redcoats coming but instead of alarming the garrison he, to use a modern war-phrase, "skedaddled," throwing away his gun without even firing it off and by the next morning was somewhere near Williamsville. The British observing by the quietness that reigned that all were asleep in the blockhouse, for it was but little after midnight, quietly stole by, proceeded up the road, burned the barracks and made their way back to their boats, before any considerable number had been aroused. Gen. Peter B. Porter, however, saw them coming and hastily springing through his back door made his escape with nothing on, it is said, but a certain linen garment.

In the winter of 1813, just before the burning of the village, it was rumored that the British were about to cross over on the ice from Point Abino and attack Buffalo. An expedition was immediately organized under, I think, Peter B. Porter, to give them a warm reception should they come. I harnessed my team and took out quite a load of young fellows. We went out on the ice and took up position near Point Abino. We took with us one 6-pounder, but after waiting quite a while no Britons appeared and we returned home. Gen. Amos Hall was then in command of the troops in Buffalo. His doings were but a continuation of that incompetence and mismanagement that had brought disgrace and defeat to our arms.

On the morning of the 30th of December the British forces consisting of regulars and Indians crossed over and took up position near the battery. Several attempts were made to dislodge them but owing to want of skill and numbers the parties were repulsed and dispersed each time, part being killed, part wounded and the rest probably thinking that discretion was the better part of valor would take to their heels. This policy was continued until the number of

men was reduced to about 600. These fought for a while until orders were received from Gen. Hall to retreat, or as the expression was, for each man to take care of himself. They retreated to the woods in their rear but found them occupied by the Indians. A fierce fight ensued and many were killed and scalped. It was about 10 o'clock p. m. when the fight ended. The enemy did not come up that evening.

About 8 o'clock I was at the quartermaster's department, but learning that 2,700 rations had been drawn that day, returned home feeling perfectly safe. I saw that day thirteen bodies of the killed laying at Reese's blacksmith shop. It was a bitter cold day and the bodies were frozen stiff just as the men had died. They were in all conceivable postures. Legs and arms twisted around in all shapes; the gaping wounds, the mangled heads torn by the ruthless scalping knife, all formed a sight horrible to behold.

One valiant captain, before going into the action, made a speech to his men and wound up by telling them to stand by their captain—to stick by him and all would be well. But a shell happening to explode near him, he probably thought he had business somewhere else, and he turned and took what a thief would call "leg bail." His men, remembering his last caution, also turned and ran. One of the fellows said he tried to obey orders, but after sticking close to his captain's heels for about four miles, gave out, the captain being too tough for him.

The troops engaged were principally raw militia and seeing for the first time the bursting shells and the rockets, and hearing the whistling of the bullets and the horrid yells of the savages, and influenced by incompetent and cowardly commanders, it is no wonder that they did not fight better.

That evening (the 30th) a man came along and reported that the British and Indians were coming. I did not credit the story and went to bed. The people of Black Rock and Buffalo seemed to think different from me, for we could hear all night long the tramp of the fugitives. Wagons and horses were not plenty then and most of the panic-struck ones fled on foot. Before daybreak next morning Major

Miller came to our house and rousing us up told us that we must leave—that the British were coming to burn the town and that all the militia had ran away. I immediately harnessed up my team and made preparations to leave. Mrs. Brayman put her bake-kettle with bread in it, some pork and other things, into the wagon. The town was now about deserted, and seeing it was useless to remain we started. We overtook the fugitives this side of Eleven-mile creek, which we reached a little after sunrise. We went to Henshaw's tavern but found it deserted, the occupants having left it in such haste as even to leave the breakfast dishes on the table. Mrs. Brayman cooked our breakfast here and in a little while we started on. We could then see the smoke issuing from burning Buffalo. We continued on about three miles, finding empty houses plenty—the panic having been as great if not greater than at Buffalo. We went into one house where the folks had thrown everything into the garden. Butter, lard, pork, feathers from the beds, etc., lay around in sweet confusion. We tried to straighten out matters but the owners not returning until spring we remained in the house during the winter.

In March, 1814, we returned to Buffalo. Only one small house, Mrs. St. John's, had been spared the general destruction. Quite a number had come back before we did and had improvised houses in every manner. Some had built little shanties, while others had merely roofed their cellars. The village was partially rebuilt during the summer (1814) and things began to assume their old shape. During this summer the battles of Chippewa, Lundy's Lane and Fort Erie were fought. Although living at Cold Spring I distinctly heard the guns fired at Lundy's Lane. This battle commenced a little after noon and continued until near midnight. Shortly after the action our forces retreated down the peninsula to Fort Erie, the English troops following in close pursuit. For six weeks our army was besieged in the fort, the British batteries extending in a circle around them from the river above to the river below the fort. I could hear the cannon fire off every little while night and day.

any alarm was given. The detached militia at Black Rock, being surprised, retreated up the beach, and left the enemy in the undisturbed possession of the village. They immediately burned the sailors' barracks at the great battery. They then proceeded to the batteries, dismounted and spiked three 12-pounders, and took away three field-pieces and one 12-pounder; and also took away from the beach and storehouse a quantity of whiskey, salt, flour, pork, etc., but to what amount is not known. Messrs. Joseph Sill, A. Stanard, Mr. Seelye and I. Caskay were taken across the river.

Major Adams, at the moment of retreat, dispatched an express to Buffalo. A part of his men came to Buffalo; the remainder left the beach and made the road leading from Buffalo to Black Rock, and took post near the road. When the express arrived at Buffalo Captain Cummins of the regular army, with 100 infantry and dragoons, marched for the Rock. Perceiving, however, that the enemy was advantageously posted at the upper battery, with a superior force, [he] very prudently returned to Buffalo. Captain Bull had not collected his company, which was considerably augmented by volunteers.

From the first moment of the alarm, General Porter left Black Rock for Buffalo, and was actively employed in arranging the subsequent operations, and encouraging volunteers. The alarm came to the neighborhood of Major Miller's and Judge Granger's early, and in a short time thirty or forty volunteers came from the Plains. About thirty Indians, which were stationed at Judge Granger's, came down and all the forces formed a junction within about one mile of the enemy. General Porter, with 100 detached militia under Major Adams, took the left, the regulars and Buffalo volunteers the center; and Captain William Hull, with about thirty volunteers from the Plains, and thirty Indians under Farmer's Brother, formed the right.

It was expected that the enemy had posted two field-pieces at the barracks to rake the road; and it being therefore imprudent to advance the center until the enemy were forced from their position, the right and left moved on the

enemy's flanks. The left commenced the attack, which was quickly seconded and ably supported by the right. The right wing being pretty well concealed, they suffered but little from the evening's fire. After a contest of fifteen or twenty minutes, the enemy left their position at the barracks, and by the time the center began to move, at the sound of the bugle, he retreated precipitately with the utmost disorder and confusion, to the beach, at the lower store-house, and embarked in several of our boats and pulled for the opposite shore. All the boats except the last, it is believed, got off without injury, but the hindmost boat was much exposed to our fire, and from the appearance of the boat the crew must have been nearly all killed or wounded.

The British lost eight killed on the field, and five wounded, besides those killed and wounded in the boat, and fifteen prisoners were taken. Captain Sanders [Saunders] of the 49th was mortally wounded while stepping into the boat. He stated that Colonel Bisshopp was badly wounded and carried into the boat, also that several others killed and wounded were carried into the boats. Our loss was three killed and five wounded and probably a few taken prisoners. The killed were Jonathan Thompson of Caledonia, Sergeant Hartman of Riga and Joseph Wright of Black Rock. Nearly half of the militia (Major Adams informs us) had gone home. Those who remained did their duty like soldiers. Young King and another Indian were wounded.

It is now more than a year since the declaration of war, and this is the first attempt of the enemy to invade Black Rock; and considering the repulse they have met with it will not certainly redound to their credit when the force was composed of veteran troops who had seen service, and ours consisting of militia and new recruits who had, very few of them, been in an engagement before.

During the whole day, the roads leading to Buffalo were filled with volunteers, from the different towns.

Since the above was in type, we have been informed, that the enemy took a quantity of goods from Sill's store, and from buildings which were deserted some plunder was taken.

THE AFFAIR OF JUNE 4, 1813

FROM A MANUSCRIPT WRITTEN IN 1871 AND DEPOSITED WITH
THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BY JAMES AIGIN

On the 4th of June, 1813, not far from midnight, about 300 to 400 British regulars with two colonels, commanded if memory serves me true by Col. Bishop [Bisshopp], landed at Black Rock without any opposition, for the purpose of celebrating the birthday of George III.

At that time Gen. Peter B. Porter was an old bachelor, but kept house. He was awakened early in the morning by the noise made by some British officers who were ordering his housekeeper to get their breakfast. The general jumped out of the second-story window and put for Buffalo. About opposite where Mr. E. D. Efner's house now is, but on Niagara Street, lived a negro by the name of Franklin. From him Gen. Porter got an old gray horse to ride. He passed on to Buffalo to rally the troops. A British officer appeared before the Grand Battery, commanded by Major Parmenia Adams, and demanded its surrender. The major told him he was not the commander, it was General Porter. As soon as the officer left, the major with 250 men left for Buffalo.

In the meantime about sixty dismounted dragoons (United States troops), started to meet the enemy. As they passed our house my father fell into the ranks with them. I, like all boys, was anxious to see what was going on. I started after them, but kept at a respectable distance back,

[The above extract was taken from an editorial article in the *Buffalo Gazette* of Tuesday, July 13, 1813.]

Captain Bull's volunteer company immediately mustered upon hearing of the invasion and were earnestly addressed by General Porter, and marched towards Black Rock, participated in the action above mentioned, and continued engaged until the enemy's final retreat. I was a member of Captain Bull's company, and participated in the services of the day.

H. A. SALISBURY.

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so that my father would not see me. These men went to where Franklin (the black man I have referred to) lived. There the officer commanding concluded it was not prudent to attack the enemy with so small a force, so they turned back for Buffalo.

When I saw them returning I hid in the bushes alongside of the road. After they had passed I returned to the road. I had been but a short time in the road when I heard a man halloo to me, asking me if I had seen any British. I told him I had not. He then hallooed to the men to come on, when out from the woods came Major Adams and his men. They went on to Buffalo.

General Porter rallied all the force he could in Buffalo, with about 100 Indians under Farmer's Brother. He mounted nine or ten dragoons and started for Black Rock with quite a force. When they got within a short distance of the Grand Battery they gave an Indian yell and charged the British, who were not in line but scattered all over. Their boats lay in the river below. They ran for them. The mounted dragoons rushed in their midst and cut them down as fast as they could come on them. Our men rushed to the brow of the hill and fired into the boats; as fast as they manned the oars they were shot down. One boat would hold a large number of men. Into it the two colonels got. They finally got aground on the upper end of Squaw island. They raised a white flag and we stopped firing, but they still would try to get away, when we commenced firing again. Finally the boat from the Canada shore got them away.

The river was full of dead men. They must have lost 300 men or more. Both of the colonels were killed; I afterwards saw their graves on the opposite side of the river. The Indians stripped the dead. I saw nine bodies lying alongside of each other as naked as they were born. I believe we lost not more than one or two killed, some eight or nine wounded. Among the wounded I saw the Indian, Young King, wounded in the foot, and a man by the name of Goosebeck who had his teeth shot out in front. So ended the British celebration of June 4, 1813.

A RIFLEMAN OF QUEENSTON

EXPERIENCES OF JARED WILLSON, "PRISONER OF WAR," AS
NARRATED TO A FRIEND¹

CANANDAIGUA, 9th Nov. 1812.

WORTHY FRIEND: The bearer of your letter, dated 23rd ultimo this moment darked the door of my office. He is on his way to the frontier, and inasmuch as that is a dangerous place, and he may never return, I shall, without waiting the uncertain event, write immediately by mail. The former letter you mention has not yet arrived. You expect I am in the army. This is not the case, but to tell you the truth, I have recently returned from a short, but tedious campaign, in which I suffered much fatigue, fought one battle, surrendered my sword to a victorious enemy on the memorable 13th, was a prisoner of war, in Canada, six days and finally sent home on my parole of honor. All this was done in less than four weeks. As the saing is, this campaign was "more short than sweet."

Yes, friend Stewart, I was an actor in the awful tragedy at Queenstown, of which you must have seen the official accounts. I shall not trouble you with a rehearsal of the events of that day, when after a splendid victory in the morning, we suffered the extreme mortification of a defeat. Little did I think, Sir, at our last interview, that one of the

1. Letter of Jared Willson, written at Canandaigua, N. Y., Nov. 9, 1812, to his friend, Mr. Alvan Stewart, Cherry Valley, Otsego Co., N. Y. Now for the first time published, and printed *verbatim* from the original manuscript in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society.

Triumvirate would ever witness such a scene; still less did I think that I should suffer the indignity of surrendering my sword to a British officer, but such is the fate of War, in which we all ought to engage when our country calls.

The Battallion of Rifle-men, to which I belong were sent out after the first engagement, a mile or more from the main body to make discoveries. We had not been gone long, when a party of indian Devils—about two hundred, attacked us in the woods. We were far inferior in numbers and of course compelled to retreat precipitately. The savages, greedy for plunder, and thirsting for blood pursued us closely, firing and yelling, in a most frightful manner. They pursued us close to the main body, but in their turn were compelled to fly for safety. By this time, I thought hell had broken loose and let her dogs of war upon us. In short I expected every moment to be made a “cold Yanky” as the soldiers say. About 4 o'clock P. M. came on the “tug of War.” The british forces and indians united, attacked us spiritedly. We obstinately opposed them, against a shower of Grape-Shot and musketry—but at length fatigued and over powered by numbers, we were forced to lay down our arms. Our men fought well. The bloody Heights of Queenstown will bear testimony to the valor & intrepidity of our troops. Thus ended the battle, which commenced before daylight and was almost one continued scene of action untill the surrender in the afternoon. All this transaction took place in fair view of two thousand militia on the opposite shore (poor dastardly wretches) who would not come to our assistance—had they come we might have held our ground untill this time. Oh! shame on them—there surely must be a severe punishment in reserve for these poor, ignoble, base-born wretches. The indian war-hoop even echoed through their camp and still they could not be prevailed upon to mingle with their associates in arms to oppose the inhuman foe.

But still I think our commander in Chief is answerable for our ill success. He knew the militia would not all cross—He ought then to have ordered on Gen. Smyth's regulars

in season to help us. He ought to have had more boats in readiness & scows, that we might carry across our field-pieces—but this was not done. Oh! shameful neglect! the Gen'l surely must, for this mismanagement answer to his country & his God, if he can. In fact, Sir, the whole business of that day & the untimely attack were authorized by the commander, at the instigation of his Aid—Sol Van-Rensalaer, who, allured by the prospects of acquiring unfading Laurels, wished to make a firm stand in Canada with a few regulars and a few militia. This ambitious creature was to take the command, but in the first of the engagement, he was carried off the field severely wounded—Thus has the ambition of one man and the folly of another brought disgrace upon our country. This you will find to be a fact.

So you see, Sir, I have agreed not to fight his Royal Highness any more, at present. I am now at my old stand, endeavoring to cultivate the arts of peace. I am no longer a resident in the "tented field." The savage War-Hoop will not again break my slumbers, hoarse clangor of the trumpets call me to the field of Battle. Thanks be to God, that my bones are not now bleaching on the awful Heights of Queenstown. About three hundred of our men were killed and wounded. The enemy must have suffered greater loss. Brock & Aid are among the slain, this adds some splendor to the engagement. 100 Red Devils are supposed to have been killed, among whom were three Chiefs.—I should like to try the Dogs another pull.

It appears you are in this State. I wish I could say in this town. I believe you might get into the Academy here, as the present Preceptor is about to leave it. I should like to know if you have our "Alma Mater" for ever. As for the Law, I know but little about it as yet, but mean now to stick close to my books. L. H. I hope will "puff the vital air" a little longer, and then perhaps I may find time to call on her. Tim has not written me this long time. I think he must be down with the "Flum Fluttocks" or some other nervous complaint. Isham & Hitchcock have never written me, I must needs think they are "Cold Yankys."

You must write me immediately & let me know your intentions as to the future. In the interim, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

JARED WILLSON,
Prisoner of War.

MR. ALVAN STEWART,
Cherry Valley,
Otsego Co., N. Y.

RECOLLECTIONS OF A PIONEER PRINTER

BY EBER D. HOWE¹

In the year 1811 my father removed with his family into the dominion of George III, eight miles west of the Falls of Niagara. The first sound of that mighty waterfall, heard at the distance of nearly twenty miles in a still, frosty morning, is most vivid in my recollection, although sixty-five years have intervened. The spray and mist ascending several hundred feet, congealing and forming such a beautiful cloud in the atmosphere above, all conspired to strike the beholder, at the first view, with awe and amazement not easily defined. Here we settled down under the reign of the old imbecile tyrant, whom we had always been taught to hate and despise. At this time, the Canadas being held with a very

1. The author of these reminiscences, Mr. Eber D. Howe, was born June 9, 1798, at Clifton Park, Saratoga Co., N. Y., of parents who had emigrated from Connecticut. In 1811 the family removed to the Niagara district in Upper Canada, and our author was a witness of and participant in the stirring events on the frontier during the next few years. In 1817 he left Buffalo, and after short sojourns at Erie, Fredonia, and Cleveland, finally settled in Painesville, O., where, as at Cleveland, he was a pioneer publisher. In 1878 Mr. Howe wrote his recollections, covering the story of his life to that time. The narrative was printed in a pamphlet which has long been scarce, but is of considerable value as a chronicle of early days in Western New York, Pennsylvania and the Western Reserve of Ohio. ("Autobiography and Recollections of a Pioneer Printer. By Eber D. Howe, Painesville, Ohio: Telegraph steam printing house. 1878." 16mo., pp. 59.) Many years ago Mr. Howe deposited with the Buffalo Historical Society, a copy of his narrative, with corrections and additions. It is from this copy, that the portion relating to the Niagara region and Buffalo is here printed.

uncertain tenure, the people were treated by the mother country with great deference, and enjoyed all the freedom they could reasonably ask. Occasionally some of the old relics of monarchy would exhibit themselves; for instance, it was a high crime to damn the king and the royal family, which was usually punished by banishment to the United States, with the promise of being hung if they returned. But this became a rather laughable farce, and was discontinued.

At that time there were not more than one or two newspapers published in the whole Province, and as "war and rumors of war" were getting rife, it became a question of great moment how we were to get the news from the States. About this time, in a little village called Buffalo, at the foot of Lake Erie, a newspaper was started called the *Buffalo Gazette*, the only one then, I think, west of Canandaigua. But was this to help us? No mails, no post-offices, no post-riders. But "where there's a will there's a way." In a few weeks, in the beginning of 1812, there was seen approaching our neighborhood a man with a pack upon his back, wading through the snow almost to his knees. It proved to be a real, genuine, live post-walker. He had the Buffalo paper, and was fixing up a route from Buffalo to the head of Lake Ontario, a distance of some sixty miles, which he proposed to travel once a week. This we considered a godsend. His name was Paul Drinkwater, a Scotchman, six feet four in his stockings, and slender out of all proportions. He proved to be a man of the most rigid economy and perseverance, and seemed determined to succeed in so vast an undertaking. He subsisted on hard-tack, which he carried along with him, with the addition of cider—and frequently metheglin, when he could find it at his stopping-places. His advent and passage through the country was an era of much moment to boys and girls. Paul was always on time with his news-pack, and only hauled off on the near approach of the war in June following. Nearly all the events of that foolish war on the Niagara frontier I can relate with more truth and accuracy than any histories

that I have seen, being an eye-witness and an actor in many of them.

Niagara river is the outlet to that chain of lakes in the northwest portion of the American continent, and for the most part forms the boundary line of the British possessions. It emerges from the foot of Lake Erie, running due north about thirty-four miles, and empties into Lake Ontario about forty miles from its head. At the head of this river stands the City of Buffalo on one side and Fort Erie on the other. Eighteen miles below is the little village of Chippewa, at the mouth of a small river of that name, on the Canada side; two miles below this are the great Falls, and a mile west of this is the famous battle-ground of Lundy's Lane. Seven miles farther down is the village of Queenston, and Lewiston on the opposite side. Seven miles still farther down is Lake Ontario. On the right bank of the mouth is the old Fort Niagara, built by the French about two hundred years ago. Opposite this fort stands the town of Newark, and a mile above is the British Fort George. This river is nearly a mile wide its whole distance, with the exception of the space between the Falls and Queenston, where it is quite narrow, with perpendicular banks on either side, about one hundred and sixty feet high. This vast chasm, it is supposed, has been formed by the wearing away of the rock over which the great body of water has been plunging for ages past. Across this chasm are now two suspension bridges; but at the time of which I am speaking any man would have been convicted of lunacy to have even thought of such a project.

In the war of 1812, then, this river brought the two nations nearer face to face than any other boundary between them; consequently, this was more naturally chosen as the seat of war; and, as the result of this, it was the place where more strife and bloodshed occurred than any other. The act declaring war against Great Britain was passed by Congress on the 17th of June, 1812, and the news was received by the Canadian authorities in about four days—but on the opposite side of the river several days later. In those days

there were no wires to flash the news through the country. But the way in which it was conveyed at that time is now very vivid in my memory, and was on this wise: About the middle of a very warm day in the month of June, half a mile down the road toward the river was discovered a cloud of dust, rising and falling in quick succession, and as it approached a little nearer a white horse was faintly discovered, then a man upon its back, brandishing a long sabre, which looked as though it might have descended from the famous knight of La Mancha, and been used in the days of wind-mills. The poor animal was covered with dust and foam, and its sides gored with blood, produced by the long spurs which pierced its skin at almost every bound. His cry was: "War! war! war is declared! Every man is ordered to turn out and defend his country—the Yankees will be over to-night!" On, on he went, and I never learned when and where he stopped. He was a captain of militia, and had probably heard the declaration said to have been once made by General Peter B. Porter—"that he could take Canada with five hundred men any morning before breakfast!" At any rate, he was awfully alarmed, and seemed fully determined to die in the "last ditch" in defense of His Majesty's dominions.

At this time there were many disloyal people scattered through the country, who had quite recently emigrated from the other side, and had not fully made up their minds to fight. They treated the captain's efforts to have them "fall into the ranks" with a derision not very commendable in loyal subjects. But no Yankees came that night, for they contented themselves with merely looking across the river to see the commotions and disturbance among their neighbors. In due time, however, they received news of the declaration of war, and instead of crossing the river to attack their Canadian neighbors, they had all they could do to prepare for their own defense. Soon fortifications were erected on both sides, and forces were being collected and drilled for future operations, and occasionally some shots were exchanged across the river; but no movement was made till

the 13th of October. On the morning of that day, before daylight, about 1,000 militia-men and a few regulars were embarked at Lewiston and landed at Queenston, under command of Gen. Solomon Van Rensselaer. A small but resolute squad crowded up the side of the mountain—some 200 feet—on their hands and knees, unobserved, and commenced an attack in the rear of the batteries, driving the British down the road into the town. As fast as the forces crossed over they repaired to the top of the mountain and prepared for an attack from below. The British commander—Gen. Brock—who was then at Newark, seven miles away, gathered up a few light troops and arrived on the ground soon after daylight. At the head of a small force, with a flourish of his sword, he commanded an advance up the declivity, but before he had proceeded three rods he fell dead from his horse—and in two minutes more his Aid, Col. McDonald, shared the same fate. This was the work of sharpshooters. They then retreated, leaving the town and surrounding country in the hands of the invaders.

Gen. Van Rensselaer, being slightly wounded, left the command with Gen. James Wadsworth, and re-crossed the river, endeavoring by all the means in his power to persuade the balance of the militia (about 3,000) to go forward and assist their brethren who had cleared the way. But no; they had seen some blood in the boats which had returned with some of the killed and wounded, and claimed their constitutional rights—not to leave their own soil. Some time in the afternoon could be seen from the heights on both sides of the river a long string of redcoats, slowly marching up from Newark and Fort George, under command of Gen. Sheaffe. They made a detour some two miles around and gained the top of the mountain. The last attack was then made, and in fifteen minutes the militia retreated, broke, and ran down the hill to the water's edge, where they surrendered. Some years after this a monument was erected on this battle-ground to the memory of General Brock.

Under an impulse of curiosity the next morning I rode ten miles to view the results of this first conflict. In looking

around I discovered, scattered here and there, about twenty men, stark naked and scalped, and many of them with the prints of the tomahawk driven into the skull. It seemed that a band of Indians after the battle was over had visited the ground to exercise their skill in that way. The bodies of these men, being then cold and stiff, were about being buried according to the rules of war, as I supposed. A trench had been dug about two feet deep, six feet wide, and twenty feet long. Three men would then take the body, two with a stick under the neck, one hold of the feet, carry it to the hole and pitch it in like a dead hog. I thought this was a pretty rough beginning. I then went to search for the men whom I supposed had been killed on the other side, but discovered only two bodies, which had been decently laid out in an old house. These, they claimed, were the extent of their loss, except General Brock and his aid. I then wended my way home, with many sad reflections on the barbarities of war.

With some slight skirmishing the campaign for that year was closed on the Niagara river. During the winter the American flotilla on Lake Ontario had been augmented so as to be able to drive the British into their hiding-place at Kingston, besides concentrating an army of about 7,000 regular troops at Sackett's Harbor. The command of this force was assigned to Gen. Dearborn, who had seen considerable service in the Revolutionary war. Under him were Governor Morgan Lewis, Generals Winder, Boyd, Chandler; also Colonel Scott, afterwards lieutenant-general.

On the 27th day of April, 1813, the town of Little York (now Toronto), the then capital of Upper Canada, was captured by the fleet and a detachment of 1,700 men, under command of General Pike, who, with about 260 others, were either killed or wounded by the explosion of a magazine after the fort had surrendered. Although over forty miles away the cannon on that day were plainly heard. At that place a vast amount of property was carried off by the conquerors. The army and navy then recrossed the lake and took position near Fort Niagara, where the forces were concentrated, and on the 27th of May, under cover of thick

fog, the army were landed from the fleet and boats on the beach of the lake about two miles below the mouth of the river. As soon as discovered the British made a sharp resistance, but in less than half an hour they were driven back, abandoning the town of Newark and the fort—and in a few hours all the forces on the frontier as high up as Fort Erie, were on a brisk retreat towards the head of Lake Ontario. Why they were not pursued and captured has always remained a mystery. They were completely demoralized and scattered along the road for several miles, but they were permitted to retire, unmolested by any effort or movement towards their capture.

After about a week, when the British troops had taken a position some forty miles away and well rested and fortified, the American forces (near 7,000 strong) began the pursuit, under command of several generals. They arrived in the vicinity of the enemy's camp in about four days and encamped for the night, which proved to be dark and stormy. During the night a party of the British passed the pickets, made a rush for the quarters of the generals, and carried off Winder and Chandler before they got fairly waked up, and before the lines could be formed were out of reach. A retreat back to Newark was then commenced, where the whole army arrived the next day. The British followed up in a few days and surrounded the town.

About this time a little episode occurred eight miles west of the great falls, at a place called the Beaver Dams. Colonel Boerstler, with 500 regulars, two pieces of artillery, and a company of about thirty rangers from Buffalo, under command of Dr. Cyrenius Chapin, were detailed from the camp at Newark to batter down a certain stone house, situated near the said Beaver Dams. When within about two miles of their destination, in passing a point flanked on three sides by timber, they were suddenly fired upon from almost every direction by a company of Indians, who were secreted and lying in wait to receive them. The colonel immediately wheeled into an open field and formed a line of battle. The Indians, in the meantime, kept up a brisk fire, accompanied

by the savage war-whoop, nearly concealed from view. Soon a white flag was seen to emerge from the woods, carried by a British captain in uniform, who was met by the colonel and staff. They represented that a large force of soldiers lay near by, and demanded an unconditional surrender. After a short consultation with his officers the colonel agreed to lay down his arms on condition of having their lives protected from the barbarities of the savages. After their arms were given up and taken away they found to their astonishment and mortification that their captors numbered but one small company of regulars and one or two hundred Indians, hardly sufficient to guard them. They were sent round the lake by way of Kingston to Halifax. The sequel to this foolish affair was that Colonel Boerstler was never again heard of in the army; and Colonel Chapin with a few of his rangers succeeded in capturing the guard who had them in custody while descending the lake in a boat, bringing them safely into camp at Newark as prisoners of war.

The remainder of the summer was spent on that frontier in inactivity; the American army cooped up in Newark and Fort George, and the British outside keeping watch of them. The siege was finally raised in October, after the capture of the British fleet on Lake Erie, and the defeat of Proctor on the Thames by Gen. Harrison. They fell back to their old position at the head of the lake to await further developments.

The lines being again opened, I took up my residence in Queenston on the Canada side. Here, with our next door neighbor, a Scotch loyalist, was Captain Barclay, late commander of the British fleet on Lake Erie, who had been captured a few weeks before at Put-in-Bay by Commodore Perry. I saw him on the street about every day. He was a fine-looking man, and carried his arm raised upon a board, it being badly shattered in the recent fight. I have seen it frequently stated that he had lost an arm at Trafalgar under Lord Nelson but I think it was a mistake.

In October a draft of 2,000 militia was made from Western New York to hold the Niagara frontier, and took posi-

tion in the town of Newark, under General McClure. A great and foolish expedition had just been set on foot to capture Montreal. All the regular troops had been taken from the frontier, including the Western army under General Harrison, leaving the whole line open without any defense, save the few militia whose time would soon expire, and about the first of December Newark was evacuated and the town, containing some 300 buildings, reduced to ashes. This was a work of vandalism which was dearly paid for, at a high rate of interest, soon after. General McClure was ever after held in detestation for the ruthless act by the people of both nations.

About 100 regular soldiers, mostly invalids, had been left in Fort Niagara for its defense, under command of a Captain Leonard, who retired every night to a private residence four miles out on the lake shore. The military strategy in this procedure of the captain is not very apparent at the present day, but was in keeping with a good share of the strange movements of that war.

Thus stood matters till the night of the 18th December, when the British with their Indian allies crossed the river, passed the sentinels (if any there were), entered the gates and took possession of the old fort without firing a gun. They then sent a file of men down to the captain's quarters with a request that he appear at the fort without any unnecessary delay. He still holding to his previous notions that "prudence was the better part of valor," did not stand upon the manner of his going, but obeyed the summons forthwith. I think his name was never again heard of in connection with the military service.

The Indians immediately took the line of march up the river, and arrived at the village of Lewiston about sunrise, where they found most of the people in their beds. The first warning they had of their danger was the Indian war-whoop as they emerged from a piece of woods which skirted the whole length of the town, and about thirty rods distant. The consternation that followed this sudden eruption of a savage foe, can hardly be imagined. Each one from instinct

supposed their safety depended upon flight. It so happened that on this occasion the savage appetite for plunder outweighed his appetite for blood. Therefore, they were so long detained at a few of the first dwellings that a large share of the people got well under way before pursuit commenced. I think but one man and a woman were killed at this time. A Dr. Alvord, who was a cripple, attempted to mount his horse and ride away, but was shot. The ground was frozen and covered with a light snow. The main and almost only road that led from the town ran directly east, and was somewhat thickly settled; and as the alarm went far ahead of the main body, carried by a few who had the good luck to find horses, the inhabitants were instantly wheeling into line in front of those who first started. Three miles out, I with my father's family fell into the fugitive cavalcade. By this time the road was getting pretty well filled up with men, women and children, horses, oxen, carts, wagons, sleds, in fine, everything that could facilitate the movement of women and children; and after filling up all these many were carried in the arms of those most able to endure fatigue.

Very few of the vast throng thus suddenly thrown together had eaten anything that morning. I well remember the breakfast that was on the table that morning as the frightened rider passed our door. The frying-pan went one way and the teakettle the other. The horses and sled were soon at the door—feather beds, blankets, and whatever eatables were nearest at hand were hurled in, the women and children on top, and away they went over the rough and frozen ground. As the frightened procession advanced, its numbers increased, until neither end could be discovered by those in the center. It was supposed to be about five miles in length, resembling somewhat the serpentine movements of a huge black snake—rendered more distinctly visible by the snow on the ground.

There was no halt for the distance of about fifteen miles, except to cast an "anxious lingering look behind," to get the first glimpse of the savage foe, with his uplifted toma-

hawk and bristling scalping-knife; but he only followed on the trail for about three miles, securing the plunder and firing the now deserted dwellings. There were, however, two of the red men more fearless than their fellows. Being mounted on fleet horses they followed in the rear for about five miles, and came up with two men, one of whom they shot, took his rifle and retreated, while the other escaped into the bush. These men both had their rifles pointed at the Indians, but concluded they were friendly—as the Tuscorora tribe resided in that neighborhood—took down their guns and awaited their approach until it was too late to retrieve their mistake.

As night approached the procession arrived at the forks of the roads (near where Lockport now stands) one leading to Batavia and the other to Rochester. Here some of the most weary, and perhaps the most courageous, bivouacked for the night—finding shelter for the women and children as best they could, the men standing guard and putting themselves in the best position for defense; while others again pursued their course to the right or the left. I took the road leading to Rochester, and soon entered what was then called the Eleven-mile woods, there being then but one solitary house for that distance, seven miles of which was covered with a thick growth of timber, having only the small brush cut away just sufficient to keep on the direction. At this juncture a brisk snowstorm set in—but on, on wended the cavalcade, over a corduroy bridge laid down in the mud and water for the distance of about four miles, some, of course, occasionally giving out, but others pursuing the even tenor of their way the whole night. Somehow, at present unknown, I found myself on board an old rickety wagon, drawn by a half-starved pair of oxen, plodding along through the last seven miles, almost every minute in collision with a tree, first on one side and then on the other, constantly “hawing” and “geeing,” as the case might be. The next morning I found myself enjoying a quiet snooze at the eastern end of the “woods” under a blanket, with nearly a foot of snow thereon.

The Indians and redcoats tarried thereabouts for two days, reveling in whiskey and plunder, and then "departed for their own coast," carrying with them a few prisoners to their wigwams on Grand river. Among these was a man by the name of Phillips, who had resided in Canada about six months before the war commenced, and had taken the oath of allegiance to His Majesty, while in his dominions. The first opportunity that was offered he left and became a soldier on the American side. Under these circumstances he concluded that his best chance for life would be to remain with the Indians in as much privacy as possible. After arriving at their village many of the tribe became clamorous for the sacrifice of a Yankee, in propitiation for some of their braves who had recently been killed, and proceeded with all due ceremony to prepare the place of execution by bringing together all the pine limbs, knots and faggots, that were most convenient. Before they had time to carry out and execute their plans, however, some British officers made their appearance upon the ground, and by dint of entreaty they were induced to stay the savage procedure. The old chief took Phillips to his hut and set him to work, and finding him an expert at divers things, especially at making shoes, moccasins, etc., he soon became a favorite in the camp. After serving them in this manner for about three months, the chief proposed that he should marry a squaw, and even proposed his own daughter, and urged the proposition with so much tenacity that he concluded to let them know that he had a wife and children in Canada. This soon led to an arrangement whereby they were to liberate him for five gallons of whiskey and ten pounds of tobacco. Phillips soon found means of conveying the intelligence to his wife, who was then about forty miles from the place. After many difficulties and hardships she procured the articles with which to pay the ransom and carried them to the Indian headquarters on Grand river, and brought away her husband in safety. The following November, just at the close of the war, Phillips and his family crossed the lines and came to Buffalo, from thence to Ontario County, where he died at

the age of ninety years. The woman above spoken of was a sister to the writer hereof.

Sometime previous to this, General Drummond had taken command of the British army on this frontier, which had been reduced to about 1,500 regular troops, and took peaceable possession of the whole frontier from Niagara to Fort Erie. On the night of December 31st they crossed the river at Black Rock, two miles below Buffalo, in the midst of a heavy snowstorm, and took up their march for the latter place. A small force of militia from the adjacent country had been speedily collected, and made a feeble attempt to impede their progress. A few shots were exchanged when the militia broke and sought safety by flight into the woods through a deep snow, and retired to their homes. At this time a body of the Mohawk tribe of Indians accompanied the British, who pursued the flying militiamen, overtook and scalped many. Early on the morning of the 1st day of January, 1814, they entered the village of Buffalo, and quickly began the work of devastation; and by noon of that day there was but one house left standing in the city and adjacent country. This was a small unpainted house located on Main Street, owned and occupied by a widow St. John, the mother of Dr. St. John of Willoughby. She had several blooming daughters, and they all made such a determined resistance that the Indians hesitated for a short time in applying the torch, and a guard was placed over it by the British officers. This old house remained a standing monument of that calamity for many years, but finally succumbed to the march of improvement. One woman was killed by the Indians while attempting to save her domicile. The Indians and a few soldiers remained in possession of the place two or three days, luxuriating on the plunder they had saved from the fire, and then retired across the river from whence they came. Several hundred buildings were destroyed, besides nearly every other on the frontier.

Early in the spring of 1814 operations commenced by raising and concentrating a new army at Buffalo for another descent upon Canada. To the command of this was appoint-

ed Gen. Jacob Brown, who had the year before displayed much skill and intrepidity at the head of a small body of militia, hastily collected, defeating and driving back a much superior force of British regulars, who had made an attack upon Sackett's Harbor. Colonel Winfield Scott and Colonel Ripley, who had just been promoted to the rank of brigadier generals, took positions under General Brown. On the 3d day of July two brigades, a train of artillery, and a squad of the Seneca tribe of Indians, crossed the Niagara at Black Rock without resistance, captured Fort Erie, and took up their line of march down the river in pursuit of the enemy, and overtook them on the 5th, about one mile above the mouth of Chippewa creek. The whole British force were here found in line of battle, extending from the river back across a beautiful level plain, and not a hundred yards below a small, deep and impassable ravine, except over one narrow bridge, which the enemy had left standing, intending, as was supposed, to obstruct its passage with their artillery. But they soon discovered their mistake. Scott immediately pressed his brigade across the bridge with such rapidity, attended with such a slight loss, that the British were surprised and confounded. He then formed his line within eight rods in front of the enemy without firing a gun. The whole force were soon across the bridge and in line of battle.

In the month of May I enlisted in a regiment of New York Volunteers, commanded by Colonel Swift, which concentrated and organized at the village of Batavia, forty miles east of Buffalo. On the 4th of July our regiment took up its line of march for the frontier, and at five o'clock we were within eight miles of Buffalo, about pitching our tents for the night, when the guns commenced rattling at Chippewa. Although twenty miles away the small arms were heard most plainly and distinct. This was a caution that we had better be again under way. After marching some time after dark we pitched our tents near the river. Next morning we crossed over in scows and proceeded down the river, joining the main army under Gen. Brown near the battleground. The fight only lasted about half an hour, but was

attended with most brilliant and decisive results. Our loss in killed and wounded was about 300; that of the British about 500. The British army was at this time commanded by General Riall, and this was his first trial of skill on American soil. It was said that he had attained considerable notoriety in India and on the Continent. From the battleground they made a precipitate retreat across the Chippewa creek, pulling up the bridge after them and taking refuge behind their batteries.

Thus matters stood for two days, repairing damages and getting the wounded out of the way. Early on the morning of the 8th preparations were made for crossing the creek by sending out a small force some two miles up to make the attempt to construct a bridge to reach the enemy. But they thought it more prudent to be moving than to wait till the crossing was completed. Soon a cloud of dust was seen rising along the road some two miles off, caused by the rapid flight of the wagon trains of baggage, artillery and red-coats. No use for a bridge up there. Our army soon centered at the old crossing-place, and by the aid of scows and some repairs on the bridge they were soon across and in hot pursuit. But no enemy was seen that day; they had left their camp kettles boiling and tables set. The next day His Majesty's forces were all safely ensconced in Fort George, sixteen miles below. Our army followed them up, and after marching nine miles encamped upon the old battleground at Queenston Heights. Here we remained in a state of inactivity for the space of about two weeks, but for what reason I never heard any one express an opinion—unless it was for the pleasure of viewing and enjoying from that lofty and picturesque eminence the scenery below, including the beautiful river to its mouth, the two forts, the country east and west for twenty miles, and nearly across Lake Ontario to Toronto.

Here our regiment was augmented by a battalion of volunteers from Pennsylvania, and numbered about 1,000. We were well supplied with officers. We had General Peter B. Porter of Black Rock (who had a short time before agreed

to take Canada for a breakfast spell), Gen. John Swift of Palmyra, N. Y., Col. Philetus Swift, Lieut. Colonel Dobbins, Majors Lee and Mattison, and Brigade Inspector Stanton. A little episode of our campaign here occurred which cast a gloom over the whole division. General John Swift was a man of about seventy years of age, and had been attached to our corps without any special command, but as a sort of fearless, care-for-nothing guerilla, who took pleasure in nocturnal excursions along the lines of pickets, at great hazard and risk of life and limb. For his companions he would choose from ten to twenty from the ranks whom he thought would best subserve his purpose. He would set out after dark on foot, and away he would go in pursuit of some unwary sentinel or guards along the British lines, from seven to ten miles off. On his third excursion he came to a farm house where were stationed a guard of about ten or more men. He immediately surrounded the house and rushed in, demanding an instant surrender. All but one threw down their guns, and as the general reached out his hand to take his, the fellow sprung back, brought up his gun and discharged it into his bowels. The soldier was instantly knocked down and brought to camp with the rest of the guard. The general was carried by his men about two miles, and left in a farm house with a single attendant. He soon after expired. Early the next morning a thousand men were dispatched to recover and bring in the body. This put an end to that kind of warfare. The soldier was tried next day by a court martial for murder, on the ground that he had fired after his surrender, but was acquitted. Our colonel went home with the body of his brother and did not again return, leaving the command of the regiment with Lieut. Colonel Dobbins.

Here the army remained in camp about ten days, when it moved down the river and took position within a mile of the British lines and Fort George, with the intention, as all supposed, of an immediate assault of their works. But here again inactivity prevailed, and disappointment was the result. We were supplied with light artillery and three heavy

long 18-pounders, drawn by six horses each, which were said to have been captured from the British fleet on Lake Erie by Commodore Perry the year before. They were driven along with the army from Buffalo at great inconvenience and trouble, for the express purpose of battering down the enemy's works.

It may be here observed that during this season the British fleet had full control of Lake Ontario, in consequence of having built during the winter before several heavy armed ships, and driven ours into Sackett's Harbor. During the two days that our forces were preparing to make the final assault, Gen. Brown received intelligence that large reinforcements of troops direct from England (including a regiment that they had hired, or borrowed, from Germany) had landed at the mouth of the river from the shipping, and were preparing to make the assault upon our lines. On the morning of the third day our tents were struck and our army put in motion on the back track to Queenston Heights, where we encamped for the night. The next day brought us back to Chippewa creek, which we crossed, and encamped just below the old battle-ground. After resting about twenty-four hours, our commanders concluded they would retreat no farther till they took a view of the pursuing foe and felt his strength.

On the 25th day of July, just before sunset, General Scott, with the 1st brigade of regulars, left camp and proceeded down the river about one and a half miles, and ran right into the advance guard of the enemy, and immediately opened fire with great fury and without waiting a moment for the balance of the army pushed forward, driving the foe before them for about half a mile. In this first attack he lost heavily. At the first fire General Brown, with the 2d brigade under Ripley, the New York and Pennsylvania Volunteers under General Porter, with all the disposable artillery, left camp on a double-quick march and proceeded to the support of Scott. By this time the whole British force had settled back and taken position in Lundy's Lane. This is a road which comes from the west, and in-

tersects the river road at right angles, at a point directly opposite the great Falls, and about half a mile therefrom. About forty rods up the Lane to the west is a rise of ground probably about twenty feet higher than the adjacent parts, with a gradual slope in all directions. On this stood an old, small-sized, dilapidated meeting-house. Here the British had posted all their artillery, and were defending it against the foolhardy attack of Scott, when the reinforcements arrived. Here were the time and place, I suppose, where General Brown asked Colonel Miller if he could drive the enemy from that height of ground, from whence they were dealing out such utter destruction to our lines. His reply, "I'll try, sir," was thereafter handed down through all the records and history of that memorable event in honor of the person who made it; for he did not only "try" but succeeded in capturing the position after a most desperate and bloody hand-to-hand fight with swords and bayonets. The artillerymen were nearly all slain while defending their guns. But in fifteen minutes the enemy had again rallied and drove our men from the heights; and three times was this bloody scene enacted, till that little spot was literally covered with dead bodies. We finally succeeded and held the ground from 10 to 12 o'clock, after the British had retired.

It has always been a mooted question which side won the battle at Lundy's Lane. Our army was under the necessity of retiring to camp for water and provisions, as there were none upon the ground or in the immediate vicinity; and the officers, men and horses were suffering terribly for the want thereof, as most of them had left camp just before supper with such haste that they carried nothing along. Thus the ground was relinquished for the time being, with the intention of again occupying it on the following morning. But the enemy got the start in that matter. Gens. Brown and Scott were both severely wounded, left the command to Gen. Ripley, and crossed the river the same night, leaving orders to renew the fight if practicable.

Incidents: The night, although clear, was very dark and sultry. The battle was fought entirely from the light of the

guns, the bursting of shells and skyrockets. Many ludicrous events and mishaps were produced by this state of things. Officers would frequently ride up to a squad of the enemy and take command, march and countermarch for some time, before they discovered their mistake. A colonel of one of our regiments rode up in front of the British line and sung out, "What regiment is that?" When a reply came in a loud tone of voice, "The Royal Scots." "Royal Scots, to the right face, march!" which they did, while the colonel took the opposite direction. A Captain Ketchum (ominous name), whether of his own volition or from orders, took an escort of some twenty picked men, made his way around the right flank of the enemy's line, and in the rear marched silently and quickly, in single file, toward the left flank. On his route he ran directly upon a small squad of British officers, who were standing beside their horses in consultation. They were instantly surrounded with guns and bayonets and ordered to march at a double-quick time—and woe be to him who lingered, for he immediately felt the sharp point. The captain made no halt or enquiry till he had cleared the extreme left flank and entered our lines—and then, to his delight and astonishment, he found that his prisoners were the British commander-in-chief,—Gen. Riall,—and his staff. For this act of bravery and sheer good luck, the captain was promoted, and the general retired to private life, and his name never again appeared in military matters.

In this bloody encounter our regiment suffered but a very slight loss, as its position was assigned on the extreme left flank of the line. A Captain Hooper, from Auburn, N. Y., was found missing and never after heard of. Our brigade-major, Stanton, with a few others, were taken prisoners. Adjutant Poe, of the Pennsylvania corps, was also killed. Our colonel, Dobbins, during the engagement received a spent ball in his bosom, and from the little smart it gave him—thinking he was badly wounded—turned his horse towards camp and rode about forty rods when the thought occurred to him that he might as well ascertain the exact

state of affairs within, and after feeling around for some time could find neither blood or perforation, turned his horse about and rode back to his command. This caused some dry jokes among his fellow officers.

The loss on each side was estimated at about 800; and taking into account the time occupied and the number engaged, had few parallels in modern warfare. I think the great share of the loss in killed and wounded was in Scott's brigade, which probably did not exceed 1,600 men, and which were foolishly driven with such impetuosity against the whole of the enemy of some 5,000. Instead of being promoted to the rank of major-general, as he was, for his conduct in that affair, greater justice would have been meted out by his being cashiered. He certainly showed himself utterly regardless of human life, and willing to make any sacrifice for his own personal renown.

I was at this time officiating as cook for the regimental and staff officers, and my duties required my presence in the big tent, but was in a good position, by looking across a big bend in the river, to see and hear the terrible crash of arms by the light and sound thereof. At twelve o'clock the whole remaining force returned to camp and finished the repast they had so suddenly left five hours before. Worn down with extreme fatigue and hunger, all were soon asleep in their tents, except the few who were placed out on the picket guard. But their slumbers were of short duration. As the sun arose the next morning the long roll was sounded for all to fall into the ranks and answer to their names as the roll was called. Here was ascertained for the first time the number absent and missing. I looked along the line of Scott's brigade for a few moments, and saw the wonderful thinning out of many of the companies, apparently reduced to a corporal's guard. But decimated as they were, the whole available force was soon under way, with the intention of occupying the ground left the night before. After proceeding about one mile they discovered that the enemy had full possession with a large force, and busily engaged in building large fires with rails, and burning the dead that had been

left upon the field. Here was cremation put into practice on a large scale. Our army here came to a halt, and after viewing the situation and its surroundings, and holding a council of war, it was decided again that "prudence was the better part of valor," and all again returned to camp. In less than half an hour from that time the tents were all struck and the whole army under a quick movement up the river towards Fort Erie, where we arrived next morning, after encamping in the open fields at [opposite] Black Rock, and appeasing our hunger mostly on uncooked salt pork.

Fort Erie was strengthened by long lines of breastworks and batteries, running parallel with the river, and some fifteen rods distant. The British forces soon made their appearance, surrounded the fort, and commenced the erection of batteries within one mile distant, which were pretty thoroughly covered and protected by a thick growth of timber and underbrush. About the first of August they opened their batteries by a masterly display of shot, shell and rockets. These last were called Congreve rockets,—after the name of their inventor,—and went out of use soon after the termination of that war. They were constructed of a wooden tube, about four inches in diameter, three feet long, enclosed in strong iron bands, a small bombshell in one end, and filled with alternate layers of dry and wet powder, so that every little explosion kept the thing in motion till it arrived at its destination, when an explosion took place, scattering the whole into a thousand fragments. They were so elevated that they very much resembled a comet while passing through the air on a dark night. They were frequently very destructive. One of them killed six horses that were hitched in the rear of the camp.

Thus cooped up and unable to recross the river with safety, our army suffered terribly for the next forty-eight days. During the whole of this time, with slight intermissions, the cannonading was kept up on both sides, night and day. More or less were killed and wounded every day, notwithstanding the men were screened considerably by the throwing up of a large number of lateral breastworks.

Thus operations continued till the 14th of the month, when the first attempt was made to storm the fort and its surroundings. The entire encampment extended up the lake, from the old stone fort, about one hundred rods, where a tower, some twenty feet in height, had been erected, called Towson's Battery, and in command of Major Towson. Their plan was to advance simultaneously at both ends and in the centre. Their advance was made on the upper works by some sailors and marines in boats from the lake, who proceeded cautiously under the cover of darkness, with the intention of landing in the rear of the works; but they were discovered in time, and almost totally annihilated before they made a landing. The centre was so obstructed by fallen timber and brush-wood that nothing was there accomplished. At the lower end they pushed the troops with so much vigor and determination that they actually opened a passage to the top of the fort and were pouring in, driving our gunners from their posts, and for a few moments all seemed to be lost, when the magazine underneath suddenly exploded, sending more than 200 of the assailants into the air—burned, killed, mangled and bruised in a most shocking manner. Thus ended the attack. The enemy quickly retreated to their old quarters, with a loss of about 400 men, leaving a large number of their wounded in our hands.

A hospital for British prisoners had been established in Buffalo, and after our retreat from Lundy's Lane my father had been detailed and assigned to its charge, which may explain my being there as an assistant. This brought some fifty of the poor, miserable, mangled specimens of humanity into our immediate presence and care on the day following. Many were yet insensible, and unable to move a muscle, although nothing was visible to indicate their wounds. But the worst cases were those who had been burnt by the explosion of the powder magazine. Some of their faces and hands were so crisped that the skin peeled off like a baked pig. Among the rest was a boy about my age, whom I thought would survive with a little extra care and attention. I found him lying upon the floor, with a little straw scat-

tered about, unable to point out the seat of his troubles, and concluded that I would make an effort to bring him up—in which I happily succeeded in a few days. One poor fellow, with a marine dress, lay in a bunk near by, totally insensible to all his surroundings, and only able to move one leg, which he continued to draw up and down constantly for about three days, when he expired. He was a fine specimen of physical manhood, and had the mark of a musket-ball, which had just penetrated the skull.

History or tradition hath but little to say about the cause of the blowing up of Fort Erie, whether by design or accident. It took place at any rate at a very critical and opportune time. I never heard that any officer avowed any participation in the transaction, and as no one ever knew who touched the fatal spark to the magazine, or laid the trail, I am inclined to the belief that the perpetrator of the deed was his own executioner. It was generally considered a just retaliation for the affair at Little York the year before. I have seen it stated that our loss was eighty-four and that of the assailants 900, but I think the latter was too high by one-half.

This repelled assault and defeat seemed not to be much noticed by the besiegers, as their guns were in full play again as soon as they supposed their wounded were out of the way. A few days after General Gaines came and took command of the post. In about a week I took an opportunity to cross the lake from Buffalo, which is here four miles wide, to see how the war was progressing. On landing upon a smooth limestone rock, nearly an acre in size, the first thing that attracted my attention, while walking across this rock towards the encampment, was a round twelve-pound ball, striking a few yards from me and bounding away some half a mile farther into the lake—and then another from the same direction, crashing like an explosion from beneath the rock. I began to think this was not a very eligible situation for any one who had much respect for his personal safety. On proceeding a little farther along, I saw a small bevy of officers emerging from a shattered

wooden building, making their way toward the landing, one of whom was wounded and limping badly. I soon learned that it was Major-General Gaines. He immediately crossed the lake and did not return again during the war. I passed on to the building and had the curiosity to look in. The floor and inside were shivered to atoms, and the furniture and debris covered with dirt. I was told that the general and his staff were sitting around the dinner table when a shell came down through the roof, through the table into the ground and there exploded. My curiosity was by this time quite satisfied, as may well be supposed, and after tarrying about an hour I followed the general back to Buffalo.

The situation of our little army, which still lay cooped up in Fort Erie, was every day becoming more critical, and excited the greatest solicitude throughout the country. A crisis finally arrived that called forth all the sympathies and patriotism of Western New York. By order of Gov. Tompkins a heavy draft was now made upon all the militia in that portion of the State, and about 3,000 were soon in Buffalo. But now the great question arose, how were they to be made available to any useful purpose? There was no authority to take or send them across the lines against their will or consent, and to obtain this much skill and tact were required. Accordingly, they were all paraded in line and volunteers called for. Several of the most prominent of the officers—among whom was Gen. Peter B. Porter—rode along in the front, making the most urgent appeals to their manhood and love of country to cross the river and rescue those who were in such imminent peril. A line was soon formed on the opposite side by volunteers, which was constantly augmented by those more courageous than their fellows. Then, again, there would be a stand-still till the officers gave a few more lectures in front—and thus the number continued to increase for the best part of a day, until there were only about a hundred left who were unwilling to cross. These volunteers crossed the river or lake the same night, armed and equipped. They were drilled some ten

days before they were called to a test of their courage and prowess.

By this time Gen. Brown had so far recovered from his wounds that he appeared again and took command of the army in Fort Erie; and by the 17th day of September plans were so far matured that a sortie was to be made with a determination to raise the siege. Accordingly in the afternoon of that day three columns were marched out and made direct for the batteries, which were scaled and silenced with the greatest alacrity, sweeping around and putting them all to flight. Then commenced a desperate running fight, mostly in small broken squads on both sides, through the timber and brush. In this kind of skirmishing our backwoods militia-men had a very decided advantage over the British forces, who at this point seemed to be composed in a great measure of Germans, who had been sold or hired out as fighting machines, by some of the petty sovereigns in Europe. Many of them threw away their arms, and in their attempts to run would fling themselves full length upon the ground, quite willing and anxious to be taken prisoners. A great many personal exploits and adventures were related among that day's doings. The fight was of short duration, but was prolific of grand results, compared to the numbers lost on both sides. The British soon gathered their scattered forces and again made their way back to Chippewa, leaving all their siege-guns in our hands.

This would have ended the war on that frontier but for the arrival of Gen. Izard, with about 5,000 regular troops from Plattsburgh, about the 1st of November. They had been on the march for over three months—for what purpose I never heard explained. It may be set down in the catalogue of follies occurring in that war. This reinforcement crossed the river and went to Chippewa to look after the whereabouts of the enemy. A slight skirmish ensued, and finding the enemy rather obstinate and not disposed to move along any farther, and thinking it about time to seek winter quarters, our whole force left the Canada side, bringing along all their munitions of war and public property.

In December following a treaty of peace between the two countries was perfected and signed at the city of Ghent in Flanders, by five commissioners, who had been sent out a few months previous, to wit: John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, Richard Rush, Wm. H. Crawford, J. A. Bayard, and two on the part of England. But owing to the tardy manner of communicating intelligence in those days it was not known till some time after the great battle of New Orleans had been fought, on the 8th of January, and the British army defeated with great slaughter.

"Now was the winter of our discontent
Made glorious by the men of Ghent."

A new epoch in my existence was now about to open up, and about a year after the close of the war I began to think more seriously of my prospects and course of life. I had arrived at an age—although at that time too poorly appreciated—when all those just germinating into manhood must begin to cast around in order to light upon some occupation which appears most suitable to their physical and mental capacities. How often do young men pass these few years of their lives in idleness and a total unconcern of what they are to be, or can be, when they are thrown upon the world under the necessity of a total reliance upon their own resources. I had read the life of Benjamin Franklin, and learned how and by what means he had wrought his way from a candle-maker to be the greatest philosopher of his age, by the most rigid economy and perseverance and the little light acquired in a printing-office. Well, I one day found myself in the then small town of Buffalo, on Main Street, with two shillings in my pocket, with here and there a scattering house—not reading the sign-boards with a loaf of bread under my arm, as did Franklin in the streets of Philadelphia, for they were too few and far between—but I did see one which read "Printing Office." It had a small book store on the ground floor, where I concluded it would be no intrusion to enter; and after sticking a cigar in my mouth—a good deal after the fashion of Young America

now-a-days, which I have ever since looked upon as one of the silliest acts of my boyhood days—I boldly made my first step toward becoming a Ben. Franklin. This proved to be the place where the *Buffalo Gazette* was published, the same old paper that I had been reading before the war, and brought to our door by the famous Mr. Drinkwater, heretofore mentioned. It was the first paper started west of Canandaigua, or on the borders of Lake Erie, and during the troubles on the border was published fourteen miles to the eastward. After maneuvering around for some time I ventured to enquire if they wanted an apprentice? After some hesitation, and taking a view of my caliber and physique, replied that they did. This was rather flattering to my pride (if I had any) and Ben. Franklin again popped into my mind, as I had formed an idea that it required something far above the common race of mortals to become a printer—more especially as old Faust, the first inventor of type, had been charged by the Pope with being in league with the devil. But I had good reasons afterward to greatly modify my ideas on that point. Suffice it to say that I soon entered into an agreement to give my time and attention to their interests for the term of four years, at an annual stipend of forty, fifty, sixty and eighty dollars per year.

The proprietors of this paper were two brothers who had graduated from the office of the *Ontario Repository*, then a pioneer paper. Their names were Smith H. and Hezekiah A. Salisbury, both practical printers. The eldest was a pretty shrewd business man, and a good editorial writer. He severed his connection with the paper in the spring of 1818, and the name of the paper was changed to that of *Buffalo Patriot*, and some years afterwards the *Daily Commercial Advertiser* emanated from the same establishment, which is continued to this day. Smith H. Salisbury was not successful in business, and died in Rochester at the age of about fifty. Hezekiah held a connection with the paper for many years; was frugal, honest, and upright in all his dealings with others, and continued in laborious toil to quite

an advanced age. Guy H. was an only son of the elder Salisbury, was a fine writer, edited the *Commercial Advertiser* for some years, and finally fell a victim to the intoxicating cup.

The paper had then a circulation of about 1,000, and the time occupied in striking off this edition was two days with two hands at the press. The same amount of work in these days is done in two hours. I was assigned to this branch of the business with another boy of about my age. Our press was after the old pattern used in the days of Franklin, with a short screw and lever, and printed one page at each pull—and, therefore, required four solid jerks to every sheet. We took turn about at the lever for each ten quires of paper on one side—i. e., one put the ink upon the type while the other took the impression. The present generation of printers would be greatly amused to witness the manner of inking the type in those days. We made two balls of wool, covered with green sheepskin, about the size of a man's head. To these were attached perpendicular handles, and after applying the ink to the outer surface each page of the type was briskly struck eight or ten times. The present mode of applying the ink by means of rollers, made of glue and molasses, came into vogue about the year 1830.

At this time post coaches were run from Albany to Buffalo twice a week, carrying the mails. From thence westward mail-bags were carried on horseback only, up to 1820. Early in the year of 1816 a second paper was started in Buffalo by David M. Day, called the *Buffalo Journal*. Late in the season of this year a printing-press was pioneered forty-five miles farther west, and the *Chautauqua Gazette* was started by James Percival and James Hull, at the village of Canadaway, then containing about fifty houses. It took its name from the Indian name of the creek which runs through the town. But on the advent of a newspaper the people thought a new name for their town was imperatively demanded, and consequently a meeting was called and by a vote it was christened Fredonia—which name it retains

"even unto the present day." Mr. Percival remained connected with the paper but a few weeks when he relinquished his interest to his partner.

In March, 1817, I was sent on to assist in the printing of this paper, where I remained seven months, and returned to Buffalo. In our office here our associates were John Whitely, a journeyman, and two apprentices, named Snow and J. J. Daly. Whitely was a soldier in the 4th Regiment, U. S. Army; was at the battle of Tippecanoe under Gen. Harrison, and was discharged at the close of the war. He was a gutter drunkard, and died in a short time. Daly was a fine jovial chap of Irish descent; afterwards was engaged in mercantile business, and died in Cleveland. In the spring of 1818, by a change of proprietors of the paper I was released from my engagement as an apprentice, but continued in the office during the summer.

In August of this year I was present at Black Rock and saw the first steamboat launched that entered the waters of Lake Erie. It was called Walk-in-the-Water, and was a memorable event of that day. At this time there was no harbor at Buffalo of sufficient depth of water for a craft of that size, and owing to the crude manner of constructing engines at that time, she had very great difficulty in getting up the river into the lake, consequently she was obliged to wait for a "horn breeze," as the sailors term it; by hitching on eight or ten pair of oxen by means of a long rope or cable, together with all the steam that could be raised, she was enabled to make the ascent. Sometimes the cable would break and the craft float back to the place from whence she started.

In September of this year I was engaged for one month in Erie, Penna., to assist in putting in operation the first newspaper in that town, entitled the *Erie Gazette*, by Mr. Ziba Willes. Sometime previous to this, however, I think a paper had been issued there called the *Genius of the Lakes*, and printed on a sheet of foolscap, but had been discontinued. I never saw but one number of that remarkable

Genius. I therefore set up most of the type for the first number of the *Erie Gazette*, which I believe is still flourishing, under many improvements and transformations.²

2. Mr. Howe's references to the early newspapers of Erie are not quite accurate. Erie's first newspaper was the *Mirror*, started in May, 1808, by George Wyeth, and published for some two years. In 1813 appeared the *Northern Sentinel*, established by R. J. Curtis, who in 1816 changed its name to *Genius of the Lakes*. The *Erie Patriot*, begun in 1818 by Zeba Willis, was published about a year and then moved to Cleveland; Sanford's "History of Erie County, Pennsylvania," says that Mr. Howe was connected with this paper. The *Gazette* was established in 1820 and had a long career, finally being sold to the *Erie Dispatch* in 1890. It was separately published, however, as the *Erie Sunday Gazette* until 1894, when it was discontinued, the weekly edition of the *Dispatch* being thereafter styled the *Dispatch-Gazette*. In 1897 this again became the weekly *Gazette*, only to be discontinued in the fall of 1899. The Sunday edition of the *Dispatch*, begun in August, 1903, is still called the *Gazette* edition of the *Dispatch*. The *Gazette* for well-nigh three quarters of a century was the leading newspaper of northwestern Pennsylvania; Horace Greeley was employed on it for a time in his early years.

"THE CHARLES LAMB OF BUFFALO"

**MEMOIR OF
GUY H. SALISBURY**

**FIRST SECRETARY OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY —
PAPER READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY MARCH 7, 1871**

BY DAVID GRAY¹

It is with real reluctance and under many disadvantages that I undertake to place among the records of your society a sketch of Guy H. Salisbury. It is my misfortune that I scarcely knew the man until after his life had sustained a mortal shock of disaster. I must paint him, so to speak, from photographs and post-mortem casts, and reconstruct the character that you knew from the wreck of it that was known to me. But I shall make the sketch, trusting that some fitter hand will finish the portrait. I shall at least show that in the gallery of our city's men of mark, it is entitled to a place of prominence.

In the first or second year of the present century there came from remote Rhode Island to the village of Canandaigua, in this State, a family of Salisburys. The patriarch of the household was John Salisbury, a man of English descent, and at the time of his migration to this far West about forty-three years old. He had been twice married

1. Published in the *Buffalo Courier*, March 11, 1871. Revised by David Gray, for the Buffalo Historical Society, in 1887, the year before his death.

and already had had ten children, seven being those of his first wife. Eight more were afterwards born to him in Canandaigua. The fourth son of the first series was Smith H. Salisbury, who must have been a youth of sixteen when the family moved from Rhode Island. This youth learned the printing business in the office of the pioneer printer of Western New York, James D. Bemus, and, a year or two after he had passed out of his teens, he married a Canandaigua girl named Nancy Hyde. I have not learned the precise date of this marriage, but this I know, that the gift Nancy gave to her husband in Canandaigua, on Christmas morning of the year 1811, was a baby named Guy Hyde Salisbury, her first-born.

A few months before this interesting event, Smith H. Salisbury, and his next younger brother, Hezekiah A., started westward to seek their fortunes, and landed in Buffalo. Both were practical printers and both, in the *Ontario Repository* of Mr. Bemus, had caught the infection of journalism. They found Buffalo a rising village of 500 inhabitants and no newspaper. In October, 1811, accordingly, they started the *Buffalo Gazette*, with the exception of a little sheet in Batavia, the first paper published in the State of New York west of Canandaigua. The Salisbury brothers brought with them a stock of stationery and, in connection with their printing-office, opened a small store which afterwards became a book store, of some importance in our early history. The first numbers of the *Gazette* were largely indebted to this stationery business for the advertising patronage which helped to fill their columns.

I cannot discover exactly how old was the little Guy when his mother followed her husband and brought him to Buffalo. Indeed, the first trace I can get of him after his Christmas advent is on the road from Buffalo back to Canandaigua. This is in February, 1813, when, on account of the war troubles on the frontier, doubtless, the mother and child appear to have retired to the security of the village whence they came. A letter written by the husband to his wife a few days after this hegira, enquires anxiously how

the latter had got on on the road and "how pretty little Guy is." I infer that a good part of the years of the war was spent by Mrs. Salisbury and her babe at Canandaigua, for Buffalo was not a place, in the years 1813 and 1814, to which a young husband could with much comfort bring his young family. Indeed, in December, 1813, the brothers Salisbury found it politic themselves to leave Buffalo, and while the British were applying the torch to the infant settlement, the *Salisburys' Gazette* was safely surveying and reporting the scene from the heights of Harris Hill, near Williamsville. The paper was published at that locality for some time, and the chronicles of the time say that tremendous editions, containing the "war-news" of the frontier, were printed and mailed from the temporary office. A tradition survives that Smith's friend, Stephen K. Grosvenor, was wont to throw off his broadcloth coat and work like a beaver mailing papers, on publication days, in order to secure the company of the publisher for the regular whist party of the evening.

In 1815 the Buffalonians had rallied and rebuilt their burnt homes, and the Salisbury family, as well as newspaper, were reestablished in the rehabilitated village. Among its half-rural scenes, which have since been obliterated by the streets of a great city, Guy's childhood was spent. His recollections of this period were vivid and happy. After fifty years of checkered life he looked back at it and wrote in this strain:

"Haven't I made dirt pies with the other boys on the common where St. James Hall² now is—hoed potatoes and corn on the lot where the Arcade³ stands—went swimming in Buffalo creek, where Main-street bridge now crosses, without fear of any N. F. P.'s⁴—slid down hill on the Terrace when it was such a high, steep bluff that our sleds didn't stop going till they got where the Erie canal now runs—waded across Buffalo harbor, on the sand-bar, until Judge Wilkeson stopped that fun by driving piles to open the chan-

2. East end of Iroquois Hotel site.

3. Mooney-Brisbane building, Main and Clinton streets.

4. Niagara Frontier Police.

nel? Haven't I pattered along, bare-foot, in the tracks made by the broad tires of the big Pennsylvania wagons, with eight horses and a leader, that brought all the eastern goods to our merchants till 'Clinton's Ditch' was made?"

Among the companions of his sports in those childish days was James C. Harrison, son of the first Collector of the Port. The Salisbury office and dwelling were in the square now occupied by the Arcade and other buildings, and on the Court House hill adjoining,⁵ as he used to tell, he and young James used to play, making mud forts in summer and "coursing down hill" on their sleds in the winter. There were no fences, even, in the way, in those days, and the "run" was a good long one.

It was in the midst of this happy time, when little Guy was about ten years old, that his parents took him to St. Paul's Church, and the Reverend Deodatus Babcock, the second rector of that noble parish, sprinkled, as he says himself, upon his "unworthy head the holy waters of baptism." Rev. Dr. Shelton has kindly looked up for me the records of this ceremony, which fix as its date the 9th of September, 1821. In that same year Guy's mother, a patient, dutiful, saintly woman, was confirmed by Bishop Hobart and became a communicant of St. Paul's. "I worshipped in that church in those days," wrote Guy long after, "but my most effective achievements in the gospel line were in the Sunday school, up gallery, at the east end of the church. I could rattle off the verses like a parrot—and, I fear me, knew as little of their beauty and meaning as the parrot would." Through all his life, however, and amid his various spiritual wanderings, Guy preserved a thorough acquaintance with the Scriptures; a genuine respect for religion and all its manifestations, and a lively if not profound religious feeling. I cannot be wrong in referring these facts to the influence of his pious mother and that old St. Paul Sunday school.

Smith H. Salisbury edited the *Gazette* till January, 1818, when he sold out his share to William A. Carpenter, and be-

5. Site of the Buffalo Public Library. The Harrison home was at the northeast corner of Washington and Batavia streets, now Broadway.

took himself to less arduous business pursuits. Smith seems to have transmitted a good deal of his nature to his son Guy. He was talented but unsteady, and he had that curious craving Guy afterwards displayed when he was in a newspaper to get out of it, and when out of it as soon as possible to get it again.

It was in 1835 that journalism again sucked Smith H. into its vortex. At that time Black Rock fully believed itself to be a good length ahead of Buffalo in the race for commercial supremacy, and Smith took stock in its fair prospects to the extent of purchasing the *Black Rock Gazette*. In the outer office of this paper Guy took up the composing-stick and learned to be a practical printer. He had begun his connection with journalism as a carrier boy, and it was his boast at the Franklin festivals of after years that he had held every post in a newspaper office, from lowest to highest, except that of printer's devil.

While he was thus engaged, however, his intellectual nature was rapidly developing and with some interruptions he attended school. His advantages in this respect had been very ordinary, but he was ever eager to make the most of them. I hear of him at several of the city's primeval seats of learning, public and private, and at all the agility of his mind seems to have been noticed. But more prominent still, perhaps, was his retiring disposition—his almost girlish sensibility and bashfulness. I fancy that two circumstances contributed in his youth to intensify this one of his characteristics. In the first place, while quite a small boy, a fall sustained in a wrestling match with a companion inflicted a severe injury on his knee, so that ever afterwards he was slightly lame and walked with a cane. Secondly, he suffered from what in juvenile circles used to be considered an irreparable misfortune, if not disgrace—he had red hair. The young Buffalonian of the period had no mercy on either of these peculiarities, and was only too happy on every apt occasion to take advantage of the weak limb or to startle its timid owner by the sudden information that his head was on fire. Covered with mortification and a comelous-

ness of his unpardonable physical defects, Guy would shrink within himself and add another thickness to his shell of shame-facedness. I think it is scarcely correct to say that he outlived this excessive sensibility, for instead of its disappearance I have rather to note its transmutation into that exquisite delicacy of feeling, that modesty of manner and absence of self-assertion which were among Guy's peculiar charms.

Dr. White, who was a school-fellow with Guy at the school of Peter Miles, tells me that as a lad of fourteen to sixteen, he was one of the foremost scholars. Shy and retiring in his manners, he was nevertheless alert and clever in all his studies. Of his associates at Miles' school I have recovered the names of Morton Taintor, Austin and Le Grand St. John, J. G. White, Deloss Bliss and Miles Joy. There are doubtless others, living in the city. But before this time Guy had contracted an undying friendship and admiration for Cyrenius C. Bristol. There is something infinitely touching to me in the constancy with which Guy to the last cherished this sentiment. The men were in nearly every respect unlike, having only the one point in common, that both were dreamers. But Bristol's visions were dark and Dantesque, while Guy built his of sunshine. Disappointment made the one a misanthrope, but only rendered more inveterate the cheerful, loving, visionary habit of the other. Yet the sunny Guy had the most intense appreciation of the gloomy peculiarities of his friend, and, though it cost him something in various ways, to the end believed in and loved him.

A good many years of Guy's youth he lived with his family in a house which his father had built, at the corner of Court and Pearl, and which is now occupied by Mrs. B. A. Manchester. A large brick arch built as the substruction of a chimney of this dwelling, was somehow converted by Guy into a miniature stage and became the scene of much youthful drama. Long after, when the building had been reconstructed and the histrionic arch enclosed in its basement part, Guy used to beg permission to go down cellar and

survey again the spot where he and Bristol and Jack Larzelere had been wont to "spout Shakespeare."

One other little incident connected with this house, to show the tender, sentimental nature of my subject: When in the course of human events it became proper to supersede the old-fashioned knocker on the front door and place a bell in its stead, I am told that Guy earnestly asked leave to carry away the knocker; so instead of going for old iron it passed into Guy's museum of sacred relics.

Unfortunately for Smith Salisbury, the ambitious hopes of Black Rock culminated and collapsed shortly after he had established himself as its *Gazetteer*. As the chief mission of the *Gazette* had been to wage on the part of Black Rock a voluminous war with Buffalo on the harbor question, the decay of the long dispute left it almost without any excuse for being, at least in that locality. In 1827, accordingly, Mr. Salisbury removed to Buffalo, and his paper became the Buffalo and Black Rock *Gazette*. In April of the year following Wm. P. M. Wood started the pioneer Democratic paper of this county, under the name of the Buffalo *Republican*. In September of that year—1828—the *Republican* passed into Smith Salisbury's hands and the Buffalo and Black Rock *Gazette*, which he also owned, died to bequeath its small modicum of life to the new enterprise.

It was in this paper—the *Republican*—that Guy made his *debut* as an editor. Many years afterwards, when his political consistency had been called in question, he made a confession of faith wherein this first essay of his as a journalist is alluded to. "I claim to be a Radical Democrat," he wrote. "My first editorials were written during the great contest of 1828, when Andrew Jackson was elevated to the Presidency by the Democrats of the nation. In that struggle my unpracticed pen essayed to aid the efforts of the little band of Democrats who stood up in Erie County in behalf of their principles. In 1829, I was for a time—at the age of seventeen—editor of the old Buffalo *Republican*, the original Democratic paper in this county. From that period I continued to advocate the Democratic faith by tongue, pen

and vote, until the removal of the deposits by President Jackson, in 1834."

I may sum up, at this point, all that is necessary to be put on record touching Guy's subsequent political life. He boldly opposed the removal of the deposits referred to, and in consequence became somewhat alienated in feeling from his Democratic associates. This led him, when a good opportunity occurred some years later, to form a connection with the leading Whig journal of the county, and to act for some years with the Whig party. Emerging from that association, however, he was soon found hurrahing for Tyler as stoutly as any Democrat of them all, and he stuck to the Democracy thereafter, through thick and thin, to the end of the chapter.

I left Guy a few pages back "spouting Shakespeare" in the chimney arch, and revealed him to you next seated on the editorial tripod. This transition from boy's play to man's work may well seem abrupt, but it was actually effected in Guy's life just as suddenly as in my narrative. Those who were in the habit of dropping into his father's office in 1828-9, could not help noticing "Little Guy," as he was called, but they did not really suspect him of holding any literary character in the establishment. A slender, shrinking, shame-faced youth, as Mr. Steele describes him to me, he would as soon have pleaded guilty to sheep-stealing as writing editorials. Yet, by and by, it came to be known that this and that and the other article which the good folks of Buffalo were allowed a week to peruse and criticise in the columns of the *Republican*, was actually the production of his pen. Further, that already he was in the habit of "dropping into poetry," and that sundry pieces of verse recently published were likewise his. People were astonished, but thenceforth followed the slim figure of the bashful boy with their respect. He was getting ready to be the young city's laureate.

But Guy's active career, thus auspiciously begun, was soon to be clouded and interrupted. Early in the year 1830 his mother died, the record of her burial in St. Paul's

Church dating February 15th. The same year, his father, grown restless again, sold out his paper to Henry L. Ball and made his last exit from journalism. Meantime Guy had fallen into ill health. He appears to have left Buffalo in the year of his mother's death (1830), and by his contributions to the press we trace him first to Rochester. I believe he was for a time connected with one or more journals in that city; at any rate we find him writing the "Carrier's Address" of the Rochester *Craftsman* for New Year's, 1831, and during that year he writes a number of poems for the *Gem* and other Rochester publications. It was in this period of feeble health and clouded prospects that he seems to have experienced his first spiritual trial. A scrap of paper, dated, "Fall of 1830," which has been put in my hands, tells the story. A few unfinished verses are scribbled upon it, at the bottom of which, in a more mature handwriting, is the sentence: "Written with the blight of infidelity upon my soul." But his faith evidently rallied again soon after, for in 1831 he writes a poem on "Happiness," of which the following is a sample stanza:

Then look *above* for happiness,
 No longer seek below,
 Amid this world's vain emptiness
 Her dwelling-place to know.
 'Tis but above—'tis but above—
 Her blissful realm is found;
 And there her faithful followers rove
 On pure and holy ground:
 Then let us spurn earth's golden toys
 And strive for those eternal joys.

—Nothing could be more eminently proper than this.

Trouble kept crowding poor Guy. Jan. 24, 1832, his father died, leaving six children younger than Guy and nothing to support them. The children were named, in the order of their ages, Frank, John, Charles (afterward the actor), William, Annette and Nancy. The last two alone survive. Annette, Guy's favorite sister, is Mrs. Harris, the wife of a Methodist clergyman somewhere in Central New

York; Nancy is a Mrs. Steadman, a widow in Newark, New Jersey. Immediately after his father's death Guy removed, sick and low-spirited, to Canandaigua, where he found a home with his good-hearted half-uncle Amasa. His brothers and sisters were billeted round among their various relatives, Uncle Amasa taking the heavy end of the burden.

Again we follow our friend Guy by his poetical trail in the newspapers. His health was slow in reëstablishing itself, and though he had hoped to be able to go to work in the summer of 1832, it was the spring or summer of 1834 before he left the hospitable asylum his uncle had given him. Once during this time he evidently passed some distance into the Valley of the Shadow, for one of his contributions to the *Gem*, dated June, 1832, confidently predicts his speedy decease. The *Gem* editor prefixes a note in which he characterizes the lines as "the knell of an expiring genius," and remarks that their author "has been for some time on a decline and we have feared that he would pass away early."

These dismal premonitions were brilliantly dispelled. On the 1st of January, 1835, under the name of the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* and from the office of the *Patriot*, issued the first daily paper published in this city, and Guy H. Salisbury was announced as its editor, his uncle Hezekiah being the proprietor. The latter, more persevering than his brother Smith, had held on to the old aboriginal *Gazette* and made a thrifty business of it. In 1819 he bought out the share which Carpenter had bought from Smith H. and changed the paper's name to the *Niagara Patriot*. Upon the organization of the County of Erie a further change of title left it the *Buffalo Patriot*. From this office, then, with a modest invocation of the good-will of his readers, Guy launched forth the first Buffalo daily.

But poor health, assisted a little perhaps by his natural versatility of disposition, again assailed Guy, and in September, 1835, we find him out of the paper and enjoying rural felicity, interspersed by the occasional composition of verse, at Franklinville. Next summer, however, he returns to the *Commercial* office. His old friend and fellow-printer,

Bradford A. Manchester, had in the meantime purchased a half interest in the establishment, and on the 1st of July, 1836, Hezekiah A. Salisbury disposed of the other half to Dr. Foote and his nephew Guy. These three conducted the business and published their daily and weekly unchanged, till August, 1838, when Captain (now Colonel) Almon M. Clapp marched from *Aurora*, surrendered his *Standard* to the *Patriot*, and became one of the editors and proprietors of the joint concern. Within a few weeks, however, Mr. Manchester withdrew and the office was carried on by the remaining partners under the firm name of Salisbury, Foote & Co., until May, 1839. Then ensued another change, Elam R. Jewett buying out Messrs. Salisbury & Clapp and adding to the *Patriot* the name and prestige of his *Buffalo Journal*.

Thus ended another of Guy's brief sojourns in newspaperdom. Although he had supplemented his journalistic efforts by pretty extensive operations in real estate, which of course got him into pecuniary trouble in the crash of 1836, the three years of its duration had been happy ones. They comprised the golden period of his courtship and marriage. On the 1st of August, 1837, he had married, at Sheldon, Wyoming County, Alta W. Chipman, daughter of Judge Lemuel Chipman of that place. Notwithstanding its bitter issue I can say, without fear of contradiction, that the match was one of genuine love on either side. Furthermore, it was founded on the principle of the affinity of opposites. Young Mrs. Guy, when she appeared first in Buffalo, impressed beholders as a large, not handsome, but somewhat uncouth, country girl. Those who made her acquaintance discovered speedily that she was a most energetic, practical and managing woman. The picture is not one of a poet's wife. And yet a score of letters and witnesses examined by me testify that she loved and admired her husband with her whole heart, and that for many years she tenderly cared for him and his children. As for Guy, he worshipped the ground his wife trod on, and their union made all the future bright before him.

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took himself to less irksome business pursuits. Smith seems to have transmitted a good deal of his nature to his son Guy. He was talented but unsteady, and he had that curious craving Guy afterwards displayed: when he was in a newspaper to get out of it, and when out of it as soon as possible to get in again.

It was in 1825 that journalism again sucked Smith H. into its vortex. At that time Black Rock fully believed itself to be a good length ahead of Buffalo in the race for commercial supremacy, and Smith took stock in its fair prospects to the extent of purchasing the *Black Rock Gazette*. In the outer office of this paper Guy took up the composing-stick and learned to be a practical printer. He had begun his connection with journalism as a carrier boy, and it was his boast at the Franklin festivals of after years that he had held every post in a newspaper office, from lowest to highest, except that of printer's devil.

While he was thus engaged, however, his intellectual nature was rapidly developing and with some interruptions he attended school. His advantages in this respect had been very ordinary, but he was ever eager to make the most of them. I hear of him at several of the city's primeval seats of learning, public and private, and at all the agility of his mind seems to have been noticed. But more prominent still, perhaps, was his retiring disposition—his almost girlish sensibility and bashfulness. I fancy that two circumstances contributed in his youth to intensify this one of his characteristics. In the first place, while quite a small boy, a fall sustained in a wrestling match with a companion inflicted a severe injury on his knee, so that ever afterwards he was slightly lame and walked with a cane. Secondly, he suffered from what in juvenile circles used to be considered an irreparable misfortune, if not disgrace—he had red hair. The young Buffalonian of the period had no mercy on either of these peculiarities, and was only too happy on every apt occasion to take advantage of the weak limb or to startle its timid owner by the sudden information that his head was on fire. Covered with mortification and a conscious-

ness of his unpardonable physical defects, Guy would shrink within himself and add another thickness to his shell of shame-facedness. I think it is scarcely correct to say that he outlived this excessive sensibility, for instead of its disappearance I have rather to note its transmutation into that exquisite delicacy of feeling, that modesty of manner and absence of self-assertion which were among Guy's peculiar charms.

Dr. White, who was a school-fellow with Guy at the school of Peter Miles, tells me that as a lad of fourteen to sixteen, he was one of the foremost scholars. Shy and retiring in his manners, he was nevertheless alert and clever in all his studies. Of his associates at Miles' school I have recovered the names of Morton Taintor, Austin and Le Grand St. John, J. G. White, Deloss Bliss and Miles Joy. There are doubtless others, living in the city. But before this time Guy had contracted an undying friendship and admiration for Cyrenius C. Bristol. There is something infinitely touching to me in the constancy with which Guy to the last cherished this sentiment. The men were in nearly every respect unlike, having only the one point in common, that both were dreamers. But Bristol's visions were dark and Dantesque, while Guy built his of sunshine. Disappointment made the one a misanthrope, but only rendered more inveterate the cheerful, loving, visionary habit of the other. Yet the sunny Guy had the most intense appreciation of the gloomy peculiarities of his friend, and, though it cost him something in various ways, to the end believed in and loved him.

A good many years of Guy's youth he lived with his family in a house which his father had built, at the corner of Court and Pearl, and which is now occupied by Mrs. B. A. Manchester. A large brick arch built as the substruction of a chimney of this dwelling, was somehow converted by Guy into a miniature stage and became the scene of much youthful drama. Long after, when the building had been reconstructed and the histrionic arch enclosed in its basement part, Guy used to beg permission to go down cellar and

survey again the spot where he and Bristol and Jack Larzelere had been wont to "spout Shakespeare."

One other little incident connected with this house, to show the tender, sentimental nature of my subject: When in the course of human events it became proper to supersede the old-fashioned knocker on the front door and place a bell in its stead, I am told that Guy earnestly asked leave to carry away the knocker; so instead of going for old iron it passed into Guy's museum of sacred relics.

Unfortunately for Smith Salisbury, the ambitious hopes of Black Rock culminated and collapsed shortly after he had established himself as its *Gazetteer*. As the chief mission of the *Gazette* had been to wage on the part of Black Rock a voluminous war with Buffalo on the harbor question, the decay of the long dispute left it almost without any excuse for being, at least in that locality. In 1827, accordingly, Mr. Salisbury removed to Buffalo, and his paper became the Buffalo and Black Rock *Gazette*. In April of the year following Wm. P. M. Wood started the pioneer Democratic paper of this county, under the name of the Buffalo *Republican*. In September of that year—1828—the *Republican* passed into Smith Salisbury's hands and the Buffalo and Black Rock *Gazette*, which he also owned, died to bequeath its small modicum of life to the new enterprise.

It was in this paper—the *Republican*—that Guy made his *debut* as an editor. Many years afterwards, when his political consistency had been called in question, he made a confession of faith wherein this first essay of his as a journalist is alluded to. "I claim to be a Radical Democrat," he wrote. "My first editorials were written during the great contest of 1828, when Andrew Jackson was elevated to the Presidency by the Democrats of the nation. In that struggle my unpracticed pen essayed to aid the efforts of the little band of Democrats who stood up in Erie County in behalf of their principles. In 1829, I was for a time—at the age of seventeen—editor of the old Buffalo *Republican*, the original Democratic paper in this county. From that period I continued to advocate the Democratic faith by tongue, pen

and vote, until the removal of the deposits by President Jackson, in 1834."

I may sum up, at this point, all that is necessary to be put on record touching Guy's subsequent political life. He boldly opposed the removal of the deposits referred to, and in consequence became somewhat alienated in feeling from his Democratic associates. This led him, when a good opportunity occurred some years later, to form a connection with the leading Whig journal of the county, and to act for some years with the Whig party. Emerging from that association, however, he was soon found hurrahing for Tyler as stoutly as any Democrat of them all, and he stuck to the Democracy thereafter, through thick and thin, to the end of the chapter.

I left Guy a few pages back "spouting Shakespeare" in the chimney arch, and revealed him to you next seated on the editorial tripod. This transition from boy's play to man's work may well seem abrupt, but it was actually effected in Guy's life just as suddenly as in my narrative. Those who were in the habit of dropping into his father's office in 1828-9, could not help noticing "Little Guy," as he was called, but they did not really suspect him of holding any literary character in the establishment. A slender, shrinking, shame-faced youth, as Mr. Steele describes him to me, he would as soon have pleaded guilty to sheep-stealing as writing editorials. Yet, by and by, it came to be known that this and that and the other article which the good folks of Buffalo were allowed a week to peruse and criticise in the columns of the *Republican*, was actually the production of his pen. Further, that already he was in the habit of "dropping into poetry," and that sundry pieces of verse recently published were likewise his. People were astonished, but thenceforth followed the slim figure of the bashful boy with their respect. He was getting ready to be the young city's laureate.

But Guy's active career, thus auspiciously begun, was soon to be clouded and interrupted. Early in the year 1830 his mother died, the record of her burial in St. Paul's

Church dating February 15th. The same year, his father, grown restless again, sold out his paper to Henry L. Ball and made his last exit from journalism. Meantime Guy had fallen into ill health. He appears to have left Buffalo in the year of his mother's death (1830), and by his contributions to the press we trace him first to Rochester. I believe he was for a time connected with one or more journals in that city; at any rate we find him writing the "Carrier's Address" of the Rochester *Craftsman* for New Year's, 1831, and during that year he writes a number of poems for the *Gem* and other Rochester publications. It was in this period of feeble health and clouded prospects that he seems to have experienced his first spiritual trial. A scrap of paper, dated, "Fall of 1830," which has been put in my hands, tells the story. A few unfinished verses are scribbled upon it, at the bottom of which, in a more mature handwriting, is the sentence: "Written with the blight of infidelity upon my soul." But his faith evidently rallied again soon after, for in 1831 he writes a poem on "Happiness," of which the following is a sample stanza:

Then look *above* for happiness,
 No longer seek below,
 Amid this world's vain emptiness
 Her dwelling-place to know.
 'Tis but above—'tis but above—
 Her blissful realm is found;
 And there her faithful followers rove
 On pure and holy ground:
 Then let us spurn earth's golden toys
 And strive for those eternal joys.

—Nothing could be more eminently proper than this.

Trouble kept crowding poor Guy. Jan. 24, 1832, his father died, leaving six children younger than Guy and nothing to support them. The children were named, in the order of their ages, Frank, John, Charles (afterward the actor), William, Annette and Nancy. The last two alone survive. Annette, Guy's favorite sister, is Mrs. Harris, the wife of a Methodist clergyman somewhere in Central New

York; Nancy is a Mrs. Steadman, a widow in Newark, New Jersey. Immediately after his father's death Guy removed, sick and low-spirited, to Canandaigua, where he found a home with his good-hearted half-uncle Amasa. His brothers and sisters were billeted round among their various relatives, Uncle Amasa taking the heavy end of the burden.

Again we follow our friend Guy by his poetical trail in the newspapers. His health was slow in reëstablishing itself, and though he had hoped to be able to go to work in the summer of 1832, it was the spring or summer of 1834 before he left the hospitable asylum his uncle had given him. Once during this time he evidently passed some distance into the Valley of the Shadow, for one of his contributions to the *Gem*, dated June, 1832, confidently predicts his speedy decease. The *Gem* editor prefixes a note in which he characterizes the lines as "the knell of an expiring genius," and remarks that their author "has been for some time on a decline and we have feared that he would pass away early."

These dismal premonitions were brilliantly dispelled. On the 1st of January, 1835, under the name of the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* and from the office of the *Patriot*, issued the first daily paper published in this city, and Guy H. Salisbury was announced as its editor, his uncle Hezekiah being the proprietor. The latter, more persevering than his brother Smith, had held on to the old aboriginal *Gazette* and made a thrifty business of it. In 1819 he bought out the share which Carpenter had bought from Smith H. and changed the paper's name to the *Niagara Patriot*. Upon the organization of the County of Erie a further change of title left it the *Buffalo Patriot*. From this office, then, with a modest invocation of the good-will of his readers, Guy launched forth the first Buffalo daily.

But poor health, assisted a little perhaps by his natural versatility of disposition, again assailed Guy, and in September, 1835, we find him out of the paper and enjoying rural felicity, interspersed by the occasional composition of verse, at Franklinville. Next summer, however, he returns to the *Commercial* office. His old friend and fellow-printer,

Bradford A. Manchester, had in the meantime purchased a half interest in the establishment, and on the 1st of July, 1836, Hezekiah A. Salisbury disposed of the other half to Dr. Foote and his nephew Guy. These three conducted the business and published their daily and weekly unchanged, till August, 1838, when Captain (now Colonel) Almon M. Clapp marched from *Aurora*, surrendered his *Standard* to the *Patriot*, and became one of the editors and proprietors of the joint concern. Within a few weeks, however, Mr. Manchester withdrew and the office was carried on by the remaining partners under the firm name of Salisbury, Foote & Co., until May, 1839. Then ensued another change, Elam R. Jewett buying out Messrs. Salisbury & Clapp and adding to the *Patriot* the name and prestige of his *Buffalo Journal*.

Thus ended another of Guy's brief sojourns in newspaperdom. Although he had supplemented his journalistic efforts by pretty extensive operations in real estate, which of course got him into pecuniary trouble in the crash of 1836, the three years of its duration had been happy ones. They comprised the golden period of his courtship and marriage. On the 1st of August, 1837, he had married, at Sheldon, Wyoming County, Alta W. Chipman, daughter of Judge Lemuel Chipman of that place. Notwithstanding its bitter issue I can say, without fear of contradiction, that the match was one of genuine love on either side. Furthermore, it was founded on the principle of the affinity of opposites. Young Mrs. Guy, when she appeared first in Buffalo, impressed beholders as a large, not handsome, but somewhat uncouth, country girl. Those who made her acquaintance discovered speedily that she was a most energetic, practical and managing woman. The picture is not one of a poet's wife. And yet a score of letters and witnesses examined by me testify that she loved and admired her husband with her whole heart, and that for many years she tenderly cared for him and his children. As for Guy, he worshipped the ground his wife trod on, and their union made all the future bright before him.

But Guy was again, to quote the language of a Buffalo barrister, "adrift on the surface of circumstances." His last position he had stuck to for nearly three years—a long time for him. It might have been expected, therefore, that his mind would seek relaxation from the prolonged strain in a flight of some boldness. It did so. Spurning newspapers, it sprang to pursuit of the *morus multicales*. For the benefit of those here who are as ignorant as I was a week ago, let me explain. A little over thirty years ago, the idea possessed this country that the royal road to fortune was silk-raising, and a kind of mulberry surnamed *multicales*, famed to furnish the choicest food of the silk-worm, burst into popularity as the means of silk production. This idea became a mania, like the Dutch tulip madness or the craze of petroleum. It converted thousands into tillers of the soil and planters of the mulberry. It filled the whole air with imaginary silk and visionary wealth. Small wonder that it made dear, credulous Guy its easy victim.

Without waiting to settle up his affairs at the *Commercial* office—time was precious and the *multicales* would brook no delay—he flew to Sheldon, his wife's old home, and started a mulberry farm. A year later, he has discovered that the soil and climate of Painesville, Ohio, are more congenial to the mulberry, and is established as a mulberry planter there. In July, 1841, he writes to his uncle Hezekiah from Painesville, that, notwithstanding the backwardness of the season, "we have about 300,000 worms now feeding and doing well, the greater portion of which will wind up in about two weeks." Whether they "wound up" in a double and different sense, or by what other potent vermifuge Guy divested himself of his 300,000 worms, I know not, but in less than three months from this time he was back in Buffalo again, applying his toil-hardened hands to the scissors and the quill in the old *Commercial* editorial room. The mulberry bubble had burst, and Guy never tarried to pick up the pieces of his bubbles. It was his happy fortune that almost before one bubble had collapsed another had risen and

floated before him, as radiant and iridescent as if it were the first of its kind.

I have said that he reëntered the *Commercial* office. I find traces of his work there at different times in 1841 and 1842, and learn that he became again a regularly engaged writer on that paper. But the next distinct view we get of him is nearly two years after his retirement from the silk-worm business. In this interval he doubtless effected the settlement of his affairs with his late partners of the *Commercial*, which he had postponed so long, and perhaps also made some disposition of the vestiges of his Painesville interest. At any rate, some time in the spring or summer of 1843, Guy reappears once more, though but for a brief season, in the editorial profession. His good and tried friend Manchester, associated with his uncle Hezekiah, was at this time publishing the *Buffalo Gazette* as a Democratic, or rather Tyler paper, and of this Guy became editor. But a very short time afterwards, the *Gazette* contained a personal card in which he states that failing health and the necessity of less sedentary employments compelled him to relinquish the chair editorial. His old Whig associates had not failed to rail at the inconsistency of his appearance in a Tyler newspaper, and his sudden disappearance therefrom was not less turned to sarcastic advantage. How the witty editor of the *Commercial* accounted for his quick retreat and indicated the next tangent in Guy's changeful career is shown in the following paragraph, evidently from Dr. Foote's pen:

"It is but just to Mr. G. H. Salisbury to say that he has not 'sufficiently humbled' his fine mind to indite Tyler paragraphs.' He backed out after a trial of a week or so, finding his mind and conscience not plastic enough for a Tyler editor. He is about to enter upon the 'cotton and sugar line' at Fort Wayne, and instead of reveling in those fine fancies, delicate conceits and eloquent, truthful appeals wherewith he was wont to regale the public, he is now deep in the mysteries of dry goods and groceries. May health and success attend him, for none are more deserving—but we should

like to see him some bright dewy morning dealing out codfish and plug tobacco, and chaffering about the price of a barrel of 'black salts'."

From the summer of 1843 till September, 1846, therefore, Mr. Salisbury sinks the Buffalonian in the western merchant. He settled first in Fort Wayne, Indiana, but before long found it advantageous to remove his stock and store to Logansport, in the same state. His life out West seems to have been one of drudgery not unmingled with fever and ague, and, except the manuscript of "an address delivered at the organization of the Cass County Temperance Union," at Logansport, March, 1844, it does not seem to have born any literary fruit. Guy was happy, however, and took profound comfort in his home and family. During the mulberry period his first child, Lemuel, had been born, and in Indiana two others, Franklin and a junior Guy, were added to and completed his family circle. The death of little Franklin, which occurred either in this city or in Sheldon about the time of his return from the West, inflicted upon his tender heart the deepest wound, with one exception, it ever experienced. The death was caused by an accident very shocking in its nature—the child having been literally scalded to death—and the impression left on the father's mind was inexpressibly painful. For over a year after the sad event, Mr. Salisbury was not known to laugh, or even to smile, so heavily lay the thought of it on his heart.

In September, 1846, he was back in Buffalo and in November following he made his next periodic entry into journalism as the successor of Joseph Stringham in the editorship of the *Courier & Pilot*, then published by Manchester & Brayman. In this connection he continued till December, 1847, when he opened an office on Washington Street as a real-estate agent.

The first years of his career in this business were the best of Mr. Salisbury's life. Although as a business man, as well as editor, he was inveterately given to procrastination, never doing tomorrow what he could do the day after just as well, he had some valuable qualifications for his new occupation.

Amiable and engaging in his manners, he made friends of everybody, and he had a certain talent for business details which stood him in stead for the thorough business habits which he lacked. At all events, as a land agent he flourished and accumulated property. Thus released from the pressure of impecuniosity, his mind freshened and eagerly sought the relaxations to which his fine tastes directed him. He had already done much to soften and sweeten the intensely practical life of the young city he lived in, but now he bent himself more systematically to the gentle task. I do not hesitate to say, for example, that the sentiment of interest in our local history, of which this society is the expression, was largely awakened by Mr. Salisbury's labors and writings. At the same time it was his pleasure, on all fitting occasions, to lift into view the poetic aspect of things. With all his faults and failings let us think gratefully of him, for in a desperately materialistic community, he taught, as best he knew, the neglected worship of The Beautiful! The series of his "Letters from Under a Bank," published in 1848, while his land office was under the Patchin Bank, at the corner of Erie and Main streets, occurs to me in this connection. In these papers, as in the multitude of others published in the city press or in the *Western Literary Messenger*, I claim that he did more than any other man to show us the ideal side of the rough practical life we were leading. He was our poet, in a word, sometimes telling of the "Streamlet in the City" which had quenched his childish thirst on its woodland way to the river and which is now lost in reeking sewers and under rude paving-stones; anon recalling the vanished meadows and hills and flowers which the great city has hid forever; and again holding gentle gossip about the characters of a bygone day and the faces which once were beautiful but now are seen no more.

Apropos of local history, I notice that his election as recording secretary of the Young Men's Association, in 1848, is immediately followed by the formation of a committee on local history of which he was made a member. The following year he is reëlected, and takes this committee's chair-

manship. Behold the germ of the Buffalo Historical Society!

Before this, in 1842 and 1843, he was a manager of the Young Men's Association and contributed largely, as chairman of the library committee, to the growth and good order of the library. Dec. 29, 1848, he read a paper, in the lecture course of the association, on "The Speculations of '36"⁶—all of which he saw and part of which he was. In 1850 he was elected the association's second vice-president.

And now, from this heyday of our old friend's prosperity and usefulness, we must pass to his clouded afternoon. I think it was sometime in 1849 that the manifestations of what is called "Spiritualism" began to be noised abroad, and in 1850, I believe, the notorious Fox sisters came up from Rochester and held a *séance* at the Phelps House, in this city. Mr. Salisbury attended, and at once became intensely interested in the new phenomena. At first an eager observer, he soon became a believer in the claims of the "mediums," and the subject of spiritualism speedily engrossed his entire mind. It is not my intention to cast discredit on any religious belief, but the truth of biography compels me to say that the influence of the gospel of the mediums upon Mr. Salisbury was disastrous. That his business suffered from his absorption in the new faith was the least of its evil effects. That it more or less directly occasioned the breaking up of his home and the ruin of his domestic happiness, is the grave charge I have to lay at its door.

Earnest and affectionate man as Mr. Salisbury was, he could not rest until his wife had entered with him into the new fold. With bitter regret he confessed afterwards that he had shaken his wife's faith in other doctrines, and had urged her to embrace spiritualism. When it was too late he would have given the world to restore her mind to its ancient moorings. Both became earnest spiritualists and both suffered a hurtful change of nature. The home which had been Guy's blissful refuge from all storms, and in which

6. This most interesting paper will be found in Vol. IV of the Buffalo Historical Society Publications.

all his spare hours had been delightfully spent, ceased to be a happy one. Finally, in the spring of 1862 his wife left him and Guy was a broken-hearted man. It is not for me to divide the blame of this domestic shipwreck. Suffice it to say that never did our dead friend lay aught of its burden on her he had loved, and whom he continued to love, faithfully and tenderly, to the last.

But the time was coming round again when Mr. Salisbury must once more dabble in printer's ink. "Printing runs in some families," he was wont to say, and the virus had certainly inoculated him incurably. In October, 1857, with the forlorn hope of being able to lift his friend Bristol out of a sea of financial troubles, he bought out the entire establishment of the *Republic*, up to that time conducted by the firm of Bristol & Welch. Mr. Welch retired, Mr. Bristol continued as the newspaper's manager, while the financial load of the much embarrassed institution was securely fixed on the shoulders of poor Guy. His real-estate office was finally abandoned a year later, or about the close of 1858. The business of the newspaper, which Mr. Salisbury had undertaken, as ill luck would have it, at the very moment of the monetary panic of 1857, plunged on from bad to worse, and from one depth of trouble to a deeper. In 1860 Mr. Salisbury emerged, for the last time, from the printing business. A harassing load of debt and some scraps of encumbered real estate were all that remained to remind him of the comfortable fortune he had sacrificed on the altar of friendship.

Before this time his confidence in spiritualism had become greatly shaken. His enthusiasm gradually abated and the new system failed to sustain the tests his incisive judgment was then able to apply. But the revulsion of his mind on this subject did not make him a whit less candid or earnest in his quest of truth. A gentleman who knew him intimately at this time, tells me that his leading characteristic was the eagerness with which his mind tendered its hospitalities to all pure and true ideas, no matter in what shape or from what quarter they came. The opinions of others,

moreover, were always sure of respectful attention at his hands. After his house was broken up he sought for a time to beguile his loneliness by inviting a few friends to his room on Niagara Street. These little meetings by and by were held regularly and, as his room very well bore the appellation of "The Cave," its frequenters naturally took to themselves the title of "The Hermits." Albert Brisbane, C. C. Bristol, J. N. Larned, Thos. Kean and Henry W. Faxon were the leading members of this order, while Guy was the graceful host, the courteous listener, the Hebe and amateur cook of the nocturnal sessions. It was in these reunions and under the influence of a remarkable article of coffee distilled in an apparatus known only to the denizens of "The Cave," that Mr. Brisbane was wont to deliver, to delighted hearers, some of the finest of his magnificent philosophical rhapsodies. To the spell of these lofty utterances of the philosopher Guy always yielded himself an enchanted captive, and, while he never was a proselyte, he was for long an admiring appreciator and reflector of the views of the great socialist.

But how shall I describe, or analyze, or account for the phase into which Guy Salisbury's life and character settled during his closing decade of life? I have said that the man whom during this period I learned to know, was but the wreck of what he had been, and in a certain sense this is strictly true. To the eye of the world around him, his was indeed a broken life. It ceased to keep up appearances—ceased to make any effectual effort for its external well-being—ceased to do anything but drift on the current of the years. And yet, as in an orchard you have sometimes seen a broken bough exhibit unwonted fruitfulness, so those who knew Guy well discovered that certain faculties, powers and graces of his nature received a stimulus from the shock of calamity. The bough was drawing finer juices from its fount of nourishment; its fruitage displayed subtle qualities thitherto latent. Thus, though he had fallen into circumstances of loneliness and desolation, his native cheerfulness, his love of his kind, and of all nature, his exquisite

humor, and, in fine, all that was sunniest and rarest in his composition, only reached, in the shade of his misfortune, a fuller development. Disaster had overtaken him at the threshold of age, but under the stroke there seemed to spring up in him a principle of renewed and perennial youth. It was sometime in 1863, I think, that he was led to associate himself with a small literary and social club of young people called "The Nameless." To the year of his death, he was the genialest, the most youthful and faithful member of that organization. The almost boyish ardor of his nature even became for himself a subject of gentle jest. I have seen on one of his scraps of memoranda a pencil scribble to this effect: "A proposition is before the Kansas legislature to allow all persons over eighteen the right to vote. If that becomes a law, I'm off for Kansas!" For several years of his later life the pressure of bitter recollections on the one hand, and his impulse toward all kinds of youthful demonstrations on the other, bore him occasionally even into some of the excesses of youth—to which, by the way, his previous life had been a total stranger. But this was the extent of our dead friend's sins against morality, touching which, as usual, the Pharisees have had much to say. I happen to know that during his last two or three years, when his dilapidated personal appearance was constantly referred to as the effect of dissipated habits, he lived the life of an ascetic, denying himself the luxury of meat and even the marvelous coffee he formerly took so much pride in preparing.

With the rejuvenation of his feeling which I have tried to describe, there seemed to well up in his mind thitherto unsuspected springs of genius and power. I always liked Guy's prose better than his poetry, but his conversation, in his latter days, was worth more than either. It was when talking, in the circle of his familiar friends, that he had his best inspiration and did justice to the richness and variety of his mental gifts and acquisitions. His fancy flagged, his delicate intuitions were dulled when he put pen to paper, but they singularly irradiated his speech. His manner and presence, too, which gave a charm to all he uttered, were

not transferable to the written page. Some of his Nameless friends who, on one occasion visited him while illness confined him to his chair, have told me how they sat for nearly two hours, alternately thrilled and delighted by the talk with which he then entertained them. It was in a strain of unconscious and inspired eloquence, sometimes taking the form of soliloquy rather than address—that he spoke, now recalling scenes of the past—memories of old times and departed friends—again traversing subjects of literature, philosophy or of common life, and on everything he touched shedding a light as delicate as that of the moonbeam. Who, of the few who were privileged to sit at the banquet of his speech, shall recall its varied substance and exquisite manner—who report its fluent, supple rhetoric, its flashes of poetic fire, its verbal drolleries, its unexpected turns of wit, its graceful blendings of the grave and gay?

I have spoken of Mr. Salisbury's amiability and innate politeness. He was indeed one of nature's gentlemen—such, because by birth unselfish, gentle and comprehensively loving. He could work better for others than for himself. His active sympathy, notwithstanding his delicacy of feeling, enabled him to establish friendly relations with all his kind. It made him, in the broad sense of the word, a democrat, a man of the people. But his loving nature was not bounded by the limits of the human world. In his ideal economy the lower animals also had honorable place and consideration. I remember that, once, unerring instinct led a little black and tan terrier, with a broken leg, to the door of my friend's room. Guy took it in, nursed its wounds and adopted it as his inseparable friend and companion. Ponto speedily developed a wonderful intelligence. When he had done mischief and knew that he deserved punishment, he would hold up to Guy his broken leg, and plead absolution for his misfortune's sake. And he always received it. One day the pair of friends entered the office of a well-known lawyer who has no toleration for dogs. "I would like to know what people keep dogs for?" testily observed the man of the law. "Well, Mr. G——," instantly replied Salisbury,

"Providence has created dogs, and has evidently designed that men should take care of them. Now, I'm not going to fly in the face of Providence!" When Ponto died, Guy brooded and mourned as if the world had grown darker to him.

Mr. Salisbury's love of inanimate nature was also profound, and it deepened as he neared his end. While in the city he constantly yearned for the rural sights and sounds amidst which he spent his childhood, but which the aggrandisement of the city had put to flight. Much as he enjoyed the society of his friends, it was a greater joy for him to take long rambles into the country and observe, with the keen interest of a child, the natural objects he encountered. From these journeys he would return with a glowing account of the birds, the foliage and the flowers he had seen. The grass was always a little greener and softer to Guy than to common folk. Even when he became exceedingly infirm, these long country walks were persevered in, and his very last conversations with friends expressed his eager yearning to be away from the din and dust of the city, under the smokeless heaven and upon the unsoiled lap of his mother earth. He was weary, and longed for rest and the smell of verdure and the singing of birds.

But I am neglecting to chronicle the few events by which his later years were marked. In May, 1862, at the first regular meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society, he was appointed its corresponding secretary. As such, and as custodian of its rooms and archives, he continued to act till April, 1864. If the duties of his secretaryship had not demanded a certain degree of promptitude and punctuality, of which, as we have seen, Guy was utterly incapable, the post would have been exactly suited to him. Even as it was, he enjoyed its work, and did the society much valuable service.

In June, 1867—the interval between this and the foregoing date having been employed by him in a sort of hopeless, chronic effort to make something of the wrecks of his property—he had a fall from which he sustained severe injuries. His old lameness was greatly aggravated by the accident,

and he complained ever afterwards of very imperfect sight. For a considerable time he was confined to his room and debarred from the use of his favorite books and pen. While in this condition, like the exiled Napoleon on St. Helena, he would plunge himself into the intricacies of the game of solitaire, working for hours together to solve its problems, or abandon himself to dreams and the building of air castles. He was also of an inventive turn of mind, and employed much of his time latterly in originating a vast variety of contrivances, useful and fantastic. His list of inventions, of which he kept a careful record, comprised pretty nearly everything, from a new steamship to a bed-bug trap. The last mentioned article he devised in response to the humorous reproach of a friend that he never had invented anything of practical value. He claimed that in the course of its construction he had acquired a more intimate knowledge of the history and habits of the insect in question than was possessed by any man in America. Another fact about the trap: it did not contemplate the death of the bug. He was to be captured alive, and only punished by exile.

With such habits, and busy with such pursuits as I have thus indicated, Guy H. Salisbury neared his journey's end. Although he failed perceptibly towards the last, he had no fear of death, and indeed no expectation of it. He often asserted that he saw no reason why the longevity of his family and his good constitution should not carry him to the end of the century, and he was constantly dreaming of restored fortune and the projects which retrieved wealth would enable him yet to undertake. It is almost superfluous to say that these plans for the future which never came, invariably had far more reference to the good and pleasure of others, than to his own.

A few days before his death his cousin, Elias O. Salisbury (to whom, by the way, I am indebted for much of the data of this paper), called at his room and found him in rather frail physical condition, but in good spirits. He had an interest in some lands on Buffalo creek, some distance above the Ohio-street bridge, and on the occasion I speak of ex-

pressed his confidence that the demands of the coal trade for additional wharfrage would soon make the property immensely valuable. He felt sure that a way was at last opening for him out of his pecuniary troubles. At the same time he admitted to his cousin that he felt weak and ill, and his old craving to get into the country was evidently still uppermost in his mind. He had a tender love for children, and always found a rare delight in their company. Reminding his cousin of this fact, he said that if he could only get away where there were flowers and young children, he would surely be cured.

On Wednesday, the 1st of September, 1868, he started out to take a walk over the creek lands from which he was hoping so great things, and also to collect a small bill of rent from a tenant living thereon. He did not return alive. The Sunday morning following, his body was taken from the waters of the creek, at the Ohio-street bridge, to which it had floated from some point above. Manifestly, while walking along the brink of the stream, probably in the evening and while on his homeward way, he had stumbled and fallen into the water. Considering his defective sight and uncertain footing, the accident was easy of occurrence. On his person were found pencilled memoranda which he had made almost up to the hour of his death. And now the busy pencil and the busy mind were still.

A day or two afterwards a few friends followed his remains to Forest Lawn, and poor Guy had his wish at last. The scent of the flowers is wafted about his resting-place, and the birds sing in the trees that sway above him. He had been Nature's poet and faithful lover, and, as a mother clasps her long absent son, so she took him and folded him from the world's neglect. A man of some failings of character and many contradictions; yet who among us shall keep so loving a heart through life, and go so guileless to his grave?

MEMOIR OF
STEPHEN LOUIS LE COUTREUX
DE CAUMONT

BY MARTHA J. S. MURRAY

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MEMOIR OF
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LOUIS STEPHEN LE COUTEULX DE CAUMONT.

FROM AN OIL PORTRAIT IN THE POSSESSION OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

MEMOIR OF

STEPHEN LOUIS LE COUTEULX
DE CAUMONT

BY MARTHA J. F. MURRAY

Buffalo was incorporated only in 1832, and yet, to write intelligently of Stephen Louis Le Couteulx de Caumont, a pioneer of our city, and the first clerk of Niagara County, one must go back to those stirring colonial days, when Robert Morris, the Financier of the Revolution, organized the Bank of North America, and staked his all in the cause of George Washington and national freedom.

At that time, the Le Couteulx family, forerunners of the great house of Rothschild, were noted financiers in Europe. The family originated in Normandy, and, possessing great wealth, they frequently came to the assistance of the French Government with gifts and generous loans of money. For such financial aid, the family was ennobled in 1505, and granted the unusual privilege of continuing their commercial pursuits. All branches of this large and influential family united for business purposes, and they had numerous enterprises in many countries.

Gradually younger members of the Le Couteulx family gave up thoughts of mercantile pursuits, choosing more aristocratic careers in the Church, in the army, and in law. The immediate ancestors of Louis Le Couteulx chose the law, and attained much prominence in French legal circles.

At one time, his father, Anthony Le Couteulx, was counselor in the Province of Normandy, and a delegate to Parliament.

But the intricacies of the law had no attractions for Louis, and, when twenty years of age, he went to Cadiz, where a thorough knowledge of the Spanish language made his services most valuable in the Le Couteulx counting-house. That was in 1776, a year of so sacred and so tender a memory to every American. Thoughts of those days of pain and sacrifice make the pulses quicken, fill heart and soul with exultant thanksgivings, and softly enfold in haloes of heavenly radiance those glorious deeds that made "our country free evermore!" Straining every nerve to raise money for George Washington and the Continental army, Robert Morris held out his hands to France. And France gave, not only gold, but men and leaders who helped us pave the way to Independence!

Louis Le Couteulx was born at Rouen, France, Aug. 24, 1756, and being closely related to the Marquis de La Fayette, only one year his senior, naturally his heart throbbed with youthful enthusiasm and unbounded sympathy for the cause espoused by so many of his countrymen. For him, the skies of sunny Spain were cast with gloom, and many were his forebodings at news of battles lost in the cause of freedom. But, when Count de Grasse had brought his squadron into the Chesapeake Bay, and made possible that famous siege at Yorktown, the heart of the future American citizen and pioneer of Buffalo leaped with joy, and gloried in the achievement as only a brave and independent spirit can.

Young Le Couteulx remained in Spain six years, and his health was poor most of that time. Returning to France, he stayed at home a few weeks, and then went to London, where his cousin, Le Couteulx de La Norrayes, presided over a large business enterprise. Louis was identified with the London house about three years, when the family, feeling that he had won his spurs, decided to send him to America to negotiate a settlement with Robert Morris of large sums of money due the family.

A few weeks before his departure for America, Louis Le Couteulx was married to Miss Clouet, whose uncle, Col. Tauzan (or Touzard, as sometimes written), was aid to General La Fayette in our Revolutionary War. Col. Tauzan lost an arm in the war, and further proved his love for America by remaining in the service of the United States until his death in 1811. Well can we imagine his cordial reception of his niece and her young husband when they arrived in New York, Dec. 15, 1786.

Having successfully completed his business matters with Robert Morris, and being charmed with America and her people, Louis Le Couteulx decided to remain in the country. As soon as possible, he became a citizen of the United States, making his first declaration, July 7, 1787. After living for a short time at Trenton, N. J., in a rented house, he bought a fine estate just outside of Philadelphia, which he called "La Petite France." For several years, he closely identified himself with the interests of Bucks County, Pa., and it was probably there was cemented that friendship with Robert Morris, which seems to have been a source of much comfort and joy to both.

Like his friend Robert Morris, Louis Le Couteulx was a many-sided man. The odd bits of information found here and there concerning his life and adventures, make us realize that his was a career full of romance and daring deeds. Unfortunately no trace can be found of the diary which he kept for many years. With that precious volume in our possession, imagination could weave the fragments into a story that a Cooper, an Irving or even a Walter Scott need not have disdained to pen.

The climate of Philadelphia was most unfavorable to Madam Le Couteulx, and so on Oct. 17, 1789, accompanied by their two sons, Alphonse Pierre and William B., Louis Le Couteulx and his wife returned to France for a visit of one year.

Scarcely a more unfavorable time could have been chosen to visit their native land, then disturbed by great social and religious upheavals. In Normandy, Catholic faith was more

intense and more deeply rooted than in any other part of France. There the atheistic element in French society made fierce war upon the Church, and Church questions quickly became political issues. On arriving, Mr. Le Couteulx found that his father and several relatives had been imprisoned, and that if discovered he himself might expect the same fate. Securing a place of safety for his wife and sons, he escaped to England in an open boat manned only by two fishermen. It was a bold, even a rash venture; but bravely surmounting the perils of the passage, the fearless fishermen safely made the English coast. Our adventurer went at once to London, where friends of former years received him with open arms.

Some time during that same year, whether before his return to France or while a refugee in England is uncertain, Mr. Le Couteulx exported from Spain the first pair of Merino sheep ever brought to the United States. This event, marking an epoch in the domestic economy of our country, was attended with grave dangers to those who shipped the animals for Mr. Le Couteulx, as the Spanish Government condemned to the galleys for life any persons engaged in such exportations. Some chronicles state that the sheep were presented to Thomas Jefferson; but a careful search through eight volumes of the Jefferson Letters failed to discover any mention of such an occurrence. The statement given by another authority that the sheep were a gift to Robert Morris is probably correct.

At his summer home, "The Hills," on the eastern bank of the Schuylkill river, and about three miles from Philadelphia, where he lived from 1770 to 1800, Robert Morris' hobby seems to have been a desire to make his farm the most attractive place in Pennsylvania. The large stone mansion, equipped with every device to make life comfortable, was surrounded by 300 acres of beautifully wooded and rolling country. Imported cattle and sheep browsed on pastures sloping towards the river, and it is altogether probable that his neighbor at "La Petite France" was determined to complete the beauty of the landscape, by adding those pre-

cious animals so carefully treasured by the Spanish Government. With a man like Louis Le Couteulx, the dangers incurred in securing the sheep would only increase his desire to see them on Robert Morris' farm.

The Le Couteulx family affairs in "La Petite France" had not been unalloyed in their happiness, and once back in her native land, Madam Le Couteulx refused to return to Philadelphia. Accordingly, on Feb. 17, 1790, Louis sailed for America alone, arriving in Philadelphia after an uneventful voyage. He sold "La Petite France" and prepared for a journey through the western part of the country.

Robert Morris had just purchased from Gorham and Phelps, about 1,200,000 acres of land in Western New York, extending to Lake Erie. No home ties now binding him to Bucks County, and true to those instincts for which the Latin race has ever been famous, Louis Le Couteulx determined to see for himself those lands. Fearless of all dangers and discomforts, and accompanied only by a servant, Louis Le Couteulx set out on horseback for his land of adventure, a veritable Don Quixote and his Sancho! He visited many parts of the United States, and for two years or more, journeyed here and there as fancy dictated. Much of this time was spent with the various Indian tribes, many of whom became greatly attached to Mr. Le Couteulx. They admitted him to their councils, and gave him every opportunity to study their language and their people. So much was he esteemed by the red men of the forest, even the Senecas, those Romans of the Five Nations, placed a high value upon his friendship, and adopted him into their tribe.

During those years when Louis Le Couteulx was wandering and studying, Robert Morris, while investing largely in real estate, resumed his interests in the cultivation and sale of tobacco. His father, Robert Morris, Sr., had settled at Oxford, on the Chesapeake, as agent for a large firm of tobacco merchants of Liverpool, about 1738; and, when quite a young man, Robert Morris, Jr., became a member of the tobacco firm of Chas. and Thomas Willing Co. of Phila-

delphia. It was but natural then, after resigning as Superintendent of Finance in the infant Republic, that Robert Morris should resume that business by which he had amassed a fortune.

The friendship of Robert Morris and Louis Le Couteulx was evidently a warm and sincere one. That there were social and business ties between Morris and other members of the Le Couteulx family, is shown by numerous letters preserved among the Morris manuscripts in the Library of Congress. Though these do not relate to the immediate subject of our sketch, some of them, addressed to relatives of Louis Le Couteulx, afford interesting glimpses of the conditions and business methods of the time. One or two of them follow :

PHILADA 6 April 1795.

MR. J. B. LE COUTEULX, Paris :

SIR: Yesterday I received yr letter of the 13 Feby, and I beg for your belief when I assure you of my feeling Sympathy for the loss of Mr. Laurent Le Couteulx. The Circumstances which occasioned his Death give additional force to ones feelings and I lament it sincerely. I pray you to present my Respects to Madame the Widow of Mr. L: Le Couteulx with my best Wishes for the happiness of her and her Children. It is very true that I agreed to make the Payment of about £2800 Str^s to Mr. L. Le Couteulx and you, as you will see by the enclosed copy of the letter written on this subject which you say did not come to your hands. Mr. G. Morris certainly had not funds to make this pay^t nor was it in my expectation that it would be asked of him therefore I did not think of providing it in his hands or lodging the Money in Europe. The mode you now point out by shipment of Tob^o [tobacco] is more agreeable to me and therefore I shall pursue it. There is however one objection. The last crop of Tob^o is of the worst quality in Virga. that has been known of many years, and I think your plan of supplying your manufactory at Morlaix was to have Tob^o of the very best quality. To get good Tob^o of the last crop is impossible and as you say you are in want, of course, you must be content with such as can be got, other Manufactories will be in the same situation and consequently cannot make better snuff than yours.

Mr. John Richard Jun^r is now here being lately come up from Richmond I will consult with him and if the Tobacco is shipped from the present Crop we will do the best that is possible, it is very disagreeable to buy and ship Goods of ordinary quality but if you receive the best is to be had, you must not complain for if I do ship Tob^o it will only be from a desire to comply with your wishes. I shall soon address you again being with sincere regard

Sir [etc]

R[OBERT] M[MORRIS].

PHILAD^a May 1st 1795.

MR JNO BARTHELEMY LE COUTEULX, Paris:

SIR: I deliver this letter to Mr. James Taylor of Alexandria in Virginia who is about to sail with a Cargo of Tobo for France which he will have to sell there, and as you are interested in the Manufactory at Morlaix I judge that this introduction may be useful to you as well as to Mr. Taylor. I beg leave to recommend him to your Friendship and good offices and I also recommend him to make you an offer of his Cargo for which I presume you can afford to give as good a price as any others. The Tobo from Potomac River you know is not equal to the James River Tobo but I expect this Cargo is of the best that could be collected in that part of the Country.

I am Sir [etc]

R. M.

PHILA^a May 31, 1795.

MESSRS LE COUTEULX & Co., Paris:

GENT^{rs}: I received on the 5th Inst your favor of the 26 Feby O. S. 3. R. Francis, upon the affairs of Mr. Jon^a Nesbitt, and cannot help expressing my regret that you or I should be plagued and troubled so much about affairs with which we ought not to have any thing to do, for altho' it was once intended that Conyngham Nesbitt & Co and myself were to have become Partners with Mr. Nesbitt and were to have executed Articles of Copartnership yet that never was done, and my letter to him upon that Subject which laid the foundation for this trouble is not conclusive. I hope and expect therefore that upon a fair hearing you will obtain in your Courts a Decision in my favor. However Mr. Jon^a Nesbitt is gone to Europe for the purpose of effecting a Compromise with his Creditors, and carried with him all the Effects he could raise which he intends to divide amongst them provided they will give him Acquittance, and he alledges that he ought cheerfully to accept of his Propositions because the bulk of what is claimed, is only the effect of frauds and Impositions committed against him by those of whom he purchased Goods during the American War, and he is of opinion, or so he declared to me, that most of his Creditors had already received more than in Justice they were entitled to. . . . Be this as it may, I hope that you and I shall get clear of this business with which we ought not to be troubled.

With sincere Regard, I remain, Yrs

R. M.

PHILAD^a Octo 12, 1795.

MESSRS LE COUTEULX & Co., Paris:

GENT^{rs}: I deliver this letter to my son in Law James Marshall Esq^r uncertain whether it ever will be presented to you. He is about to embark, accompanied by his Wife, for Europe and they may possibly visit Paris. Should that happen you may readily conceive how much I shall feel myself obliged by any attentions you may be pleased

to pay to the Daughter of my affections and to her Husband whom I esteem. They are young and being entire strangers in Paris, I beg leave to recommend them in the warmest Manner to your notice.

I am sincerely Yours

R. M.¹

These letters show that the Le Couteulx family was prominent not only in business, but socially as well. And from the letter of introduction given to his son-in-law, James Marshall, "commending in the warmest manner to your notice the daughter of my affection, and her husband whom I esteem"—we can gather that the most cordial intimacy existed between the two families.

In 1795, when Louis Le Couteulx established himself in business at Albany, the tide of emigration to the western part of the State was rising. Midwinter, if there were sleighing, was a favorable time, because transportation by sleighs was much easier than by wagons. In January and February, at this period, as many as 500 sleighs passed through Albany daily. Families moving westward from the New England States, always stopped at Albany to replenish their supplies; and activity at the Le Couteulx drug store kept pace with the moving tide.

That Louis Le Couteulx assumed at once a prominence in Albany which his family prestige and personal worth justified is proved by the following extract from the narrative of "Travels" published in London, by the Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt, who visited Albany in 1795:

"Some French families reside in this town and its vicinity; that of M. Le Couteulx—a highly interesting name—is the only one whose acquaintance I wished to obtain. They who are acquainted with this family know that it has long been distinguished for rectitude and talents, as well as for a consummate knowledge and punctuality in commercial transactions; qualities which have been as it were heredi-

1. The above and others not here printed, chiefly letters of introduction addressed to various members of the Le Couteulx family, are copied from the "Morris Letter Book, I," Morris MSS., Library of Congress. Acknowledgment is here made of the courteous assistance of Dr. Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress.

tary in it. M. Le Couteulx of Albany, is, by unanimous testimony of all who have had any dealings with him, worthy of his name. His ideas as well as his expressions carry some air of peculiarity; but he is good, obliging, honest, and universally respected. He is engaged in partnership with M. Quesnel, a merchant of St. Domingo; this house is again connected with the firm of Olive in New York and through this it is asserted with the great and respectable house of Le Couteulx in France."²

Louis Le Couteulx had other distinguished visitors, while residing in Albany. Here Lafayette was his guest. And here, too, when as a French exile, he was forced to leave England by the "Alien Bill," Talleyrand, the great French diplomat, had many a chat with his countryman. Talleyrand sailed for the United States February, 1794, and remained in this country more than a year. Part of this time was spent in Albany, where he had lodgings in a quaint old building standing until recently on the west side of Chapel Street and south of Maiden Lane.

Chapel Street brings to mind the religious life of Albany in which Louis Le Couteulx took a prominent part. In spite of the frequent visits of Catholic missionaries on their way to the Indian villages in the Mohawk valley, there was no organized body of Catholics in Albany until 1796. In the early summer of 1796, about one year after Louis Le Couteulx had settled in Albany, the Catholic portion of the population began to collect money for a church. The city gave a fine piece of property on Pine Street, between Barrack and Lodge, and a meeting was held at the home of James Robichaux, where a Catholic society was formally incorporated, October 6th. The certificate of corporation in the County Clerk's office is signed by Louis Le Couteulx and Daniel McEvers.

There being no resident priest in or near Albany, the cornerstone was laid by Thomas Barry, and the little church was called St. Mary's. It was a brick building about fifty

2. "Travels," London, 1799, p. 384. This edition of La Rochefoucault spells the name "Le Couteux."

feet square, and the second Catholic church in New York, St. Peter's in New York City being the first. The name of Barrack Street was changed to Chapel Street, probably in compliment to the little congregation, which for many years was the only Catholic body between Albany and Detroit.

As was usual in those days, when building churches, many members of the little congregation in Albany solicited funds from friends in various parts of the country, and Mr. Le Couteulx was very desirous of visiting Canada for that purpose. This extract from a letter written to Mr. Garrett Cottringer (Gottrigue) at Philadelphia, Dec. 1, 1796, tells us very plainly why Mr. Le Couteulx did not undertake the journey, and also throws much light upon the feelings he entertained for the British Government:

Bishop Carroll at our request, has wrote to the clergy of Canada praying them to get some person to collect some money in Montreal and Quebec for the erection of our church. I wish the English would admit me there this winter—I would *parler Francois* among the Canadians, and call on every one of them for something, but I am told that the British Government instructed Governor Prescott not to allow a single Frenchman enter Canada. I hope to see the day when they will penetrate into that country without their leave.

About three months later, this Canadian collecting-tour was made either by Thomas Barry or John William Barry, fortified with the following letter:

MESSIEURS THE PARISH PRIESTS:

The bearer of this present is Mr. Barry, a Catholic from the City of Albany, in the State of New York. He is appointed to collect funds to aid in the erection of a church in that place, an undertaking worthy of all encouragement; we have accordingly promptly contributed to this work according to our means. You are invited and solicited to co-operate likewise and to afford Mr. Barry the opportunity of collecting the donations which the zeal and the liberality of your parishioners may secure him.

I am, etc.,

✠ JOHN FRANCIS,
Bishop of Quebec.

QUEBEC, March 4, 1797.

St. Mary's congregation has twice outgrown the accommodations in the church. In 1867 when excavating for the



FOUNDERS' TABLET, ST. MARY'S CHURCH, ALBANY, 1798.
IT COMMEMORATES MR. LE COUTURE'S CONNECTION WITH THE PARISH. THE DISTORTION
OF THE DESIGN IS DUE TO NECESSARILY OBLIQUE PHOTOGRAPHING.

third and present beautiful structure, an interesting relic of the original building was found. It is a piece of marble undoubtedly the inscription stone of the little brick church. This stone is considered a great treasure, and was built into the walls of the present church. It bears Mr. Le Couteulx's name, misspelled.³

No records were kept at St. Mary's until 1822, consequently a search of the ecclesiastical records of Albany by the reverend secretary of Rt. Rev. Bishop Burke failed to discover any data concerning Louis Le Couteulx. However, the *United States Catholic Historical Magazine* contains frequent references to his activity in church work.

The large French settlements in and around Detroit made that metropolis of the West most interesting to Mr. Le Couteulx, and feeling the need of further expansion, he determined to visit Detroit. Accordingly, in September, 1800, he sallied forth for pastures new. Taking with him a large quantity of merchandise, he decided to make Detroit his home should he find there a good market for his goods.

Louis Le Couteulx reached Fort George, on the Canadian side of the Niagara, October 7th. From Fort George the route was through Queenstown and Chippewa to Fort Erie, where shipping could be obtained direct to Detroit. The romantic fairy that seems to have stood sponsor for him in his little Normandy crib, evidently had other plans for

3. A photograph of this stone was obtained, to accompany this sketch, through the kindness of Miss Helen F. Moran of the Albany School Department. Aside from the misspelling of the name Le Couteulx, this stone is of historic interest on account of the Masonic emblems engraved upon it. For specific reasons, well known, the Masonic order was condemned by Pope Clement XII, in 1738, and Catholics were advised to separate themselves from that organization. The meagre facilities for transmitting news of any kind in the United States at the time, and for fully a century later, the very few resident priests, and the great extents of territory embraced in one parish, made it impossible for Catholics to keep in touch with Papal edicts. When St. Mary's cornerstone was laid in 1797, Bishop Carroll of Baltimore was the only bishop in the United States, and his diocese embraced the whole country. The first lodge of Free and Accepted Masons in Albany, was Union Lodge, organized in 1765, and many of its members were Catholic. There being no resident priest, when so important an event as the laying of the Church cornerstone was to take place, it was but natural that a religious organization to which many of the church members belonged, should conduct the exercises.

Louis. Scarcely had he set foot on shore at Fort George than he was arrested as a French spy, by the British, and in spite of all protestations, sent to Quebec a prisoner. The United States Government immediately demanded his release as an American citizen, and made strenuous efforts to effect it, but to no avail. He endured rigorous captivity from November, 1800, to July 29, 1802, and was released only when peace was ratified between France and England.

An adverse fate seems to have had strange designs upon the affairs of Louis Le Couteulx and his former neighbor at "The Hills." For many years their lives had apparently drifted apart. Yet, by a strange irony of fate, when the lord of "La Petite France" was arrested and sent as a spy to a British prison, Robert Morris was languishing in a Philadelphia jail where he had been committed for debt. This man, who had owned more ships and more land than any other man in America, and who out of his private purse had kept the Continental Army in the field, was held a prisoner from Feb. 8, 1798, to August, 1801. When released, he was sixty-four years of age, and had not a penny he could call his own. But the pluck that made possible those colossal achievements never failed him.

Neither could the trials of unjust imprisonment, nor the consequent disastrous conditions of his financial and business affairs break the indomitable French spirit of Louis Le Couteulx. Adjusting his affairs as well as he could, he took unto himself a second wife, and, hopeful and serene, came to the infant Buffalo—the "New Amsterdam" of the Holland Land Company. Here he bought several lots from Joseph Ellicott, agent. This company, by the way, representing several Dutch merchants in Amsterdam, never had corporate existence in this country or in Holland. These Dutch capitalists wished to purchase from Robert Morris the Indian lands in Genesee County, which he had bought from the State of Massachusetts. But, as the laws of our country then prohibited non-residents from acquiring title to land in America, Robert Morris had recourse to an ingenious scheme for transferring to them the land they



PENCIL PORTRAIT OF LOUIS LE COUTEULX.

**FROM THE ORIGINAL DRAWING BY MME. ALPHONSE LE COUTEULX, IN THE POSSESSION
OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**

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wished to purchase. He conveyed four tracts of land by as many deeds, to four groups of persons living in this country. The funds were furnished by the Dutch merchants for whom the actual purchasers acted as trustees. Some years later, the titles to these lands were found defective, and through the efforts of Gouverneur Morris, Mrs. Robert Morris became entitled to \$1,500 a year. With this small income, paid yearly, Mr. and Mrs. Morris managed to exist, until Mr. Morris died, May 7, 1806. In 1797, the general agent of the associated owners, Theophilus Cazenove, engaged Joseph Ellicott to survey the land in Western New York. Augustus Porter was appointed to accompany Joseph Ellicott and look after his interests by Robert Morris. When the surveys had been made to the satisfaction of all concerned, Joseph Ellicott was appointed local agent for the company, and established his land office at Batavia. That Louis Le Couteulx visited Joseph Ellicott at Batavia before coming to New Amsterdam is evident from a number of letters written to him, and now in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society.

In the first letter, July 19, 1803, Mr. Le Couteulx speaks of his friends Cazenove and Vanstophurst, saying that he "certainly would persuade them to erect a house of worship and a free school in this place." Then he adds this local prophecy: "There is a possibility of making a good harbour at Buffalo in spite of the Barr which is at its entrance. I am sure that Yankes can remove it, if Hollanders will not undertake it."

Perhaps the most interesting thing in his second letter, July 20, 1803, is the suggestion to cut a canal from the mouth of Buffalo Creek to Black Rock, a prophecy almost of that larger canal to be built two decades later from Buffalo to his former home on the Hudson.

Thus do these two letters prove that, standing on the threshold of the nineteenth century, their writer was conscious of the future prosperity of Buffalo, and warmly advocated those two conditions by means of which she has obtained it.

In 1804, Mr. Le Couteulx engaged some Canadians to erect him a residence on the northeast corner of Crow Street and Willink Avenue, just opposite where the Mansion House now stands, and on the spot occupied by the Le Couteulx block. In one part of his dwelling Mr. Le Couteulx established a drug store, the first in Erie County. The drug store faced Crow Street (Exchange), and extending up Willink Avenue (Main Street) were the beautiful gardens of Mr. Le Couteulx. Southerly, across the Terrace, opened up a beautiful vista to the blue waters of Lake Erie. Mr. Le Couteulx soon became prominent in Buffalo affairs. Now in his fiftieth year, he was a man of push and enterprise. No public meeting was complete without him, and no published list of men concerned in public enterprises lacked his name.

In 1808, the County of Niagara was erected out of Genesee County, and included all the territory now occupied by the present counties of Niagara and Erie. Buffalo was made the county seat, and Augustus Porter was appointed judge. His associates were Samuel Tupper, Erastus Granger, James Brooks and Zather Cushing. Asa Ransom was the first sheriff and Louis Le Couteulx the first clerk of the county. In 1808 his office was at the corner of Main and Swan streets, second story. Until the Holland Land Company had completed the Court House and Jail in 1810, court was held in Joseph Landon's tavern, now the Mansion House site. And many a bit of local gossip was likely well digested in the Le Couteulx drug store across the way.

After serving one year as County Clerk, Mr. Le Couteulx was again appointed to the office, Feb. 5, 1811, retaining it until 1813. Those were stirring days for the little village on Lake Erie. The spirit of '76 burst out into new life, and when the conflicts of 1812 had actually begun, Buffalo witnessed many a notable deed. A few glimpses of Mr. Le Couteulx, in the years before and during the war, are afforded by the files of the *Buffalo Gazette*. That his business embraced something more than drugs may be gathered from

the following advertisement, which in quaint display, appeared in the *Gazette* as early as June, 1812:

"Louis Le Couteulx, at his store in the village of Buffalo, has just received and offers for sale, for cash, or approved paper, 10 bbls. Pittsburgh flour, 4 do. Whiskey, 3 do. Pork, 1 do. Hams, 1 box Bacon.—About 25,000 excellent shingles.—Likewise Drugs & Medicines."

As the same announcement was running as late as September of that year, it is hoped that at least a part of the stock "just received" was changed oftener than the "ad." Another of Mr. Le Couteulx's announcements, in July of this year of war, was of "Five Kegs Butter." He evidently traded in many of the articles kept at a country store, as well as in drugs and medicines. In December, 1813, we find him offering "35 dols. reward" for a horse stolen from his stable.

Of greater significance were his relations to public affairs. On April 15, 1812, as County Clerk, he advertised the receipt of commissions of officers "appointed by the Honorable Council of Appointment. The persons thus commissioned, are requested to attend at said office, in order to receive their qualifications." At this and subsequent times Mr. Le Couteulx qualified as judges or justices of the peace, Samuel Tupper, David Eddy and Elias Osborn; Asa Ransom as sheriff; Joseph Landon, Henry Brothers and Samuel Hill, Jr., as coroners; and, a little later on, militia officers by the score. Mr. Le Couteulx was one of a committee appointed "to support the election of Jonas Williams for Member of Assembly from Niagara and Chautauqua counties, and Daniel D. Tompkins for Governor." He was a delegate to the Assembly convention held at the house of Gamaliel St. John, April 17, 1813.

In September, 1812, fearing that the expected attack upon the village might result in the loss of county records, Mr. Le Couteulx sent them to Mr. Ellicott for safe keeping.⁴

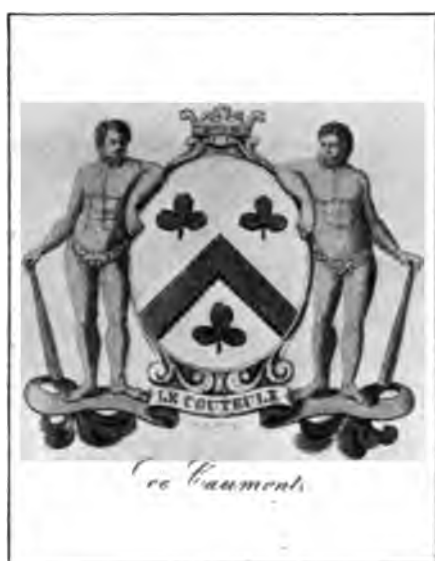
4. A letter from Mr. Le Couteulx to Joseph Ellicott regarding this transfer is reproduced in facsimile herewith. The original is owned by Mr. Walter Devereux of Buffalo, whose courtesy in allowing its present use is hereby acknowledged.

A few days later, he was obliged to ask for their return, because lawyers complained that it was impossible to attend to the concerns of their clients, if their writs and papers were stored away in a trunk at Batavia. How their legal descendants who lock the office door and rush off to a ball game, would scorn such extraordinary attention to business, when the air was filled with the smell of powder, and hostile Indians practiced their war-whoops in nearby forests!

Mr. Le Couteulx suffered heavy financial losses by the burning of Buffalo in 1813, and having a small property in Albany, he decided to take up his residence once more in that city. As his name does not appear in the first directory of Albany, published in 1813, it is possible that he returned to Albany early in the year of 1814. Towards the close of the war, he was appointed Forage Master, in the service of the United States, and held the office until June, 1815. Two years later, his name appears in the Albany directory of 1817. His employment is given as sergeant-at-arms of the Senate, and his residence as No. 137 Lion Street. From 1818 to 1823, he is recorded in the Albany directory as sergeant-at-arms of the Senate, and his occupation a druggist doing business at 61 Lion Street. Lion Street is now called Washington Avenue, and Mr. Le Couteulx probably lived there over the drug store. The building now at Washington Avenue has every appearance of being at least a century old. It has suffered little, if any, alteration, and is probably the building occupied by Mr. Le Couteulx.

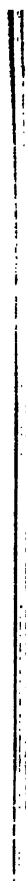
After ten years' residence in Albany, Mr. Le Couteulx still looked fondly towards Buffalo; and in 1824 he returned to the city his energy had helped to build.

Three years before, the Rt. Rev. Henry Conwell, Bishop of Philadelphia, passed through Buffalo, on his way to the West, and while here baptized the little daughter of Patrick O'Rourke, grandfather of Councilman John McManus. This is the first recorded visit of a priest to Buffalo. Nothing further was done to organize the rapidly-increasing Catholic population, until 1828, when they were visited by Father Theodore Badin. Father Badin, who was a French-



THE LE COUTEULX ARMS.

FACSIMILE OF THE BOOKPLATE USED BY LOUIS LE COUTEULX.



man, and the first priest ordained in the United States, was on his way back to Kentucky. He stayed in Buffalo six weeks, holding services sometimes in the Court House, and occasionally at the Le Couteulx home where he was a guest. Father Badin issued circulars urging the Catholic population to organize and secure a resident pastor. Moved by his enthusiasm, Louis Le Couteulx gave as a New Year's gift to Bishop Dubois a plot of ground at the corner of Main and Louis streets for a church, school, pastor's residence and cemetery.

This was not the first gift of land made to Buffalo interests by Louis Le Couteulx. He was living in Albany, when "An act to provide for the internal navigation of this State" was passed April 17, 1816, and none knew better than he, how much such a proposed canal would contribute to the prosperity of Buffalo. When it was believed that General Peter B. Porter had persuaded the Canal Commissioners to make Black Rock the western terminus of the canal, instead of giving that advantage to Buffalo, Louis Le Couteulx determined to stand by Samuel Wilkeson in his fight for Buffalo. A monster meeting was held in Buffalo, and from the platform went forth this resolution:

WHEREAS, The late decision of Canal Commissioners to terminate the canal at Black Rock upon the plan proposed by Peter B. Porter, will be injurious to Buffalo, and in a great measure deprives the inhabitants of the benefits of the canal. In order to open an uninterrupted canal, navigable upon the margin of Niagara river, the undersigned agree to pay to Henry B. Lyman the sums annexed to their names."

The firm of Townsend & Coit headed the list with \$1,000, and various other sums were quickly promised. Louis Le Couteulx gave "one-half an acre of land bounded on the canal and extending to the highway."

From 1829 until his death in 1840, Mr. Le Couteulx made a series of magnificent gifts to church and city of valuable lands acquired during his early residence in Buffalo. As most of this property lies in the vicinity of Main, Virginia, Morgan and Edward streets, this sketch would not be complete without more specific reference to that locality.

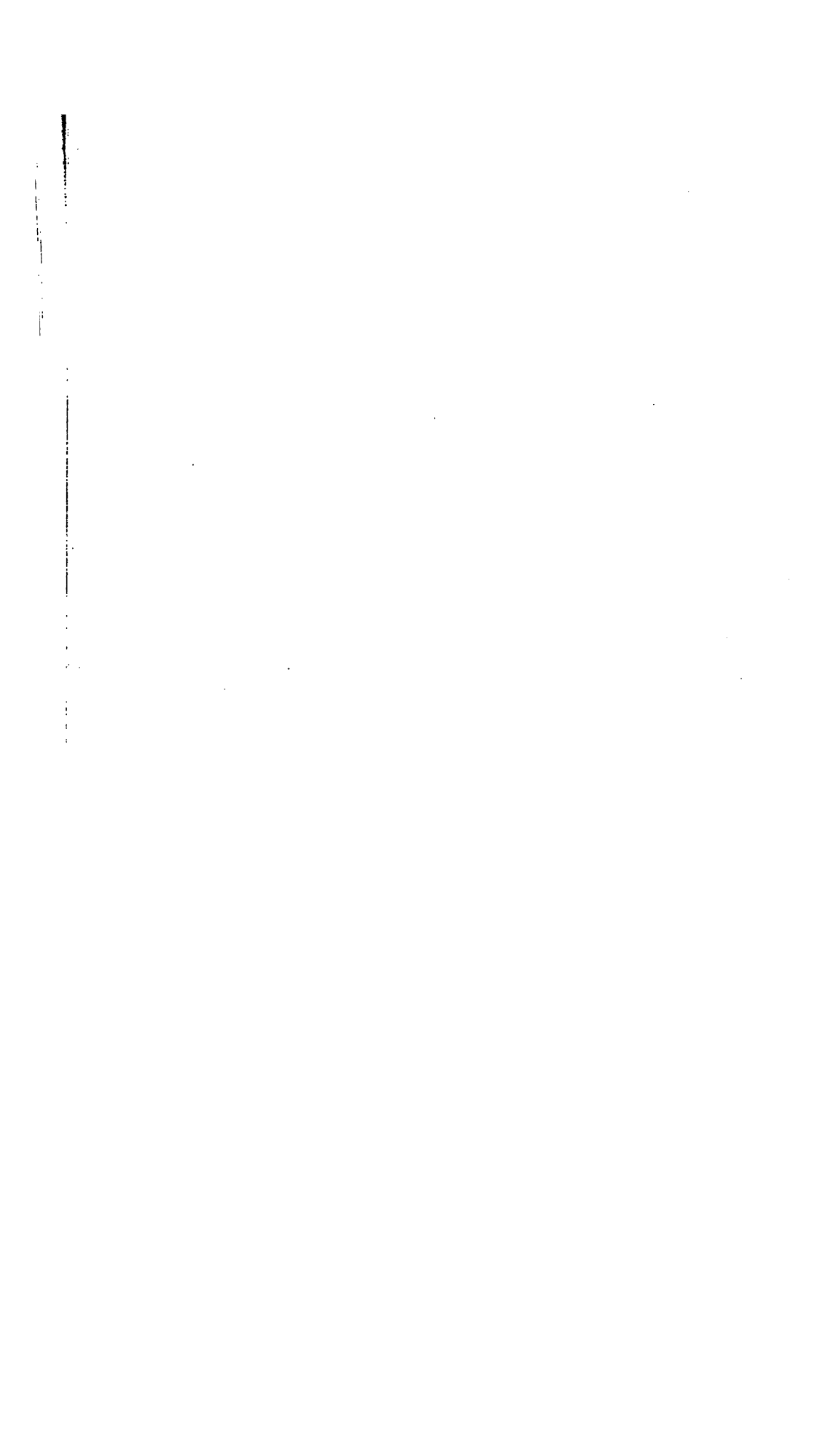
Originally, Edward Street consisted of two short streets, with a jog at Delaware. From Virginia to Delaware the street was Louis Street. From Delaware to Main it was narrower and known as Walden Alley.

Perhaps no side street in the city is so much travelled as Edward Street, connecting as it does the business and residence sections of the city, and short as it is, few streets in the city contain more churches, chapels, schools, charitable institutions, public libraries and places of amusement. As stated, what is now Edward Street was formerly Louis Street and Walden Alley. In 1836-37 these streets were widened and straightened from Main to Virginia. The name long continued a source of trouble. In 1855 (May 28) the Council was petitioned to substitute for the two names, the new name of Edward Street. Later an amendment was presented, making the name Louis Street. That in turn was withdrawn, and on June 18, 1855, the name of Edward Street was adopted, though as late as 1862 a petition was before the Council, asking that the name of Louis Street be restored. One may well ask, for what reason does it bear its present name, when, on its four short blocks, there stand a public school (No. 46), the Buffalo Orphan Asylum, the Immaculate Conception church and school, the Le Couteulx Institute for Deaf Mutes, the St. Mary's Maternity Hospital and Kindergarten, and St. Louis' church and school; all occupying land in it donated by a man named Louis Le Couteulx! By rights his name should be given to it, and not merely to the present obscure Le Couteulx Street, likely soon to be obliterated by projected improvements.

It has been my privilege to examine some of the deeds to these properties. One of their interesting features is a little map on the deed given by Louis Le Couteulx to the Immaculate Conception church. It shows that back in the thirties the extension of Morgan Street was advocated—which proposed extension is still being talked about, advocated and opposed.



THE LE COUTEULX GRAVES, PINE HILL, BUFFALO.



This property was deeded Jan. 8, 1839, and on November 16th that same year, Louis Le Couteulx passed on to his eternal reward, aged eighty-four years. His wife had died about two years before. The following notice of her death was given in the *Buffalo Gazette*, Feb. 13, 1838:

"Died. At 7 o'clock Sunday evening, Jane Eliza, wife of Louis Le Couteulx, Esq., aged 72 years. Funeral this morning (Thursday, Feb. 13), at 11 o'clock a. m. The friends of the deceased are requested to attend without further notice."

On Thursday, Nov. 19, 1840, a special meeting of the Common Council was held. Present, the Mayor (Sheldon Thompson) and Aldermen Comstock, Rumsey, Gardner, Williams, Gleason and Harrington. The Mayor stated that the object of calling the special meeting at this time was to make the necessary arrangements in relation to the funeral of Louis Le Couteulx, Esq., and, on motion of Alderman Williams,

"*Resolved*, That in consideration of the long residence among us of Louis Le Couteulx, Esq., his exemplary life and conduct, his many liberal public and private charities, and his strict honesty of purpose on all occasions, the Board will testify their respect for him by attending his funeral in a body."

To perpetuate the memory of Louis Le Couteulx, the Common Council had his portrait painted and placed with those of the Mayors of Buffalo in the Council Chamber. Some years ago, this portrait came into the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society, and now occupies an honored place in its portrait hall. By special permission, Miss Jennie Cronyn made a copy of this portrait for the Sisters of St. Joseph of Buffalo. It is a familiar sight in the parlor of Le Couteulx Deaf Mute Institute, perhaps the only place in the city where the name as well as the memory of Louis Le Couteulx has been treasured with love and gratitude.

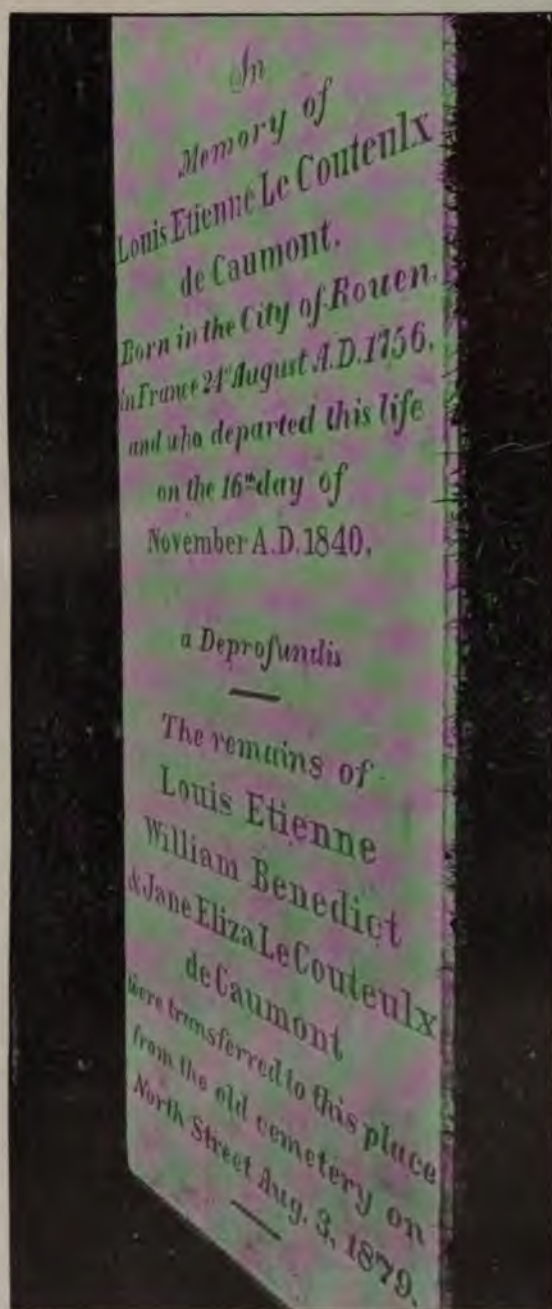
Honest beyond suspicion, Louis Le Couteulx died universally regretted in the city he loved. A practical Catholic,

he distributed his charity without reference to race or religious belief. In his placid face and mild blue eye were reflected that integrity of purpose and gracious affability which won for him so high a place in the affectionate regards of his fellows. And here, it seems a fitting place to reproduce this loving tribute in the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser and Journal* of Tuesday, Nov. 17, 1840:

"With the most unaffected sorrow we announce the death of our venerable and beloved fellow-citizen Louis Etienne Le Couteulx de Caumont. The model of a perfect gentleman of irreproachable life, unostentatious yet diffusive in his charities, with a purity and simplicity in his manners bordering on the patriarchal, relieved by the most finished courtesy, and a firm faith and devout believer in his God, full of years he sank to rest last night, honored and beloved by all who knew him. The deceased was born in France Aug. 24, 1756. His life has been an eventful one, and we trust some intimate friend will do justice to his memory. The funeral will be attended from his late residence on Exchange Street, next Thursday (Nov. 19, 1840), at 10 o'clock a. m."

His body was laid to rest in the little cemetery running from North to Best on Masten Street, and just about where the Masten Park High School now stands. When the French and German cemetery was established at Pine Hill, the remains of Louis Le Couteulx and Jane Eliza, his wife, were removed from Masten Street and reinterred in the new burial place.

That Mr. Le Couteulx was a man of culture and taste in letters is attested by a number of books formerly owned by him, and now in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society. The books are all bound in old tooled calf, indicating an elegance in the library of their former owner, in striking contrast to the unpolished conditions usual in frontier settlements. The books all contain a handsomely engraved book plate, showing the family escutcheon upheld



OLD STONE AT THE LE COUTEULX GRAVES, UNITED
GERMAN AND FRENCH CEMETERY,
PINE HILL, BUFFALO.

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by two herculean figures, and underneath the name "Le Couteulx de Caumont."⁵

Pierre Alphonse Le Couteulx, the second son of Louis, married Antoinette Huquot of Eure, France. Their only surviving heir, Louis Le Couteulx de Caumont, married a lady in New York City and resides in Lorient, France.

No children blessed the second marriage of Louis Le Couteulx, and the sons of his first wife were his only heirs. It will be remembered that Louis Le Couteulx left these two boys in France with their mother, when he came to America the second time. They were living in Buffalo, and married when their father died, but I have not been able to ascertain when they came to this country.

William B. Le Couteulx, the elder son, must have been a man of some years when he made his home in Buffalo, for he was an ex-officer in the French Navy. He was also a Knight of the Legion of Honor and a Knight of the Order of St. Louis.

5. In this little collection are: "The Conductor Generalis; or, the office, duty, and authority of Justice of the Peace . . . Clerks of Assize, etc.," by a Gentleman of the Law, Philadelphia. Printed for Robert Campbell, 1792; Delile's "L'Arithmétique méthodique et démontrée," Paris, 1779; Delile's "Opérations des changes des principales places de l'Europe," by Joseph R. Ruelle, Lyons, 1774, and "Méthode abrégée et facile pour apprendre la Géographie," with curious folding maps, printed at Paris, 1770. This book was presented to Mr. Le Couteulx in 1774, as a note on the title-page attests, by the Abbé Raynal. It would be interesting to know how intimate were the relations between the Abbé Raynal and Mr. Le Couteulx. The presentation of the book shows that they were friends before Mr. Le Couteulx came to America. Mr. Le Couteulx was eighteen years old when this book was given to him, and had we fuller knowledge of his earlier years, it might shed some light upon this celebrated and singular character in letters. Of the books above mentioned, the "Conductor Generalis" and Ruelle's treatise on the exchange values of European moneys, were given to the Historical Society in 1888, by the Hon. E. S. Hawley. The "Arithmétique" was given to Mr. B. A. Manchester by Mr. Le Couteulx, 1840; and by Mrs. Manchester to the Historical Society in 1867. In 1904, a lady in New York City gave to the Society, the "Treatise on Geography" which the Abbé Raynal presented to his friend in France. The book disappeared at the death of its owner, who had treasured it for sixty-six eventful years. After an absence of sixty-five years, the prodigal returns to repose alongside its companions of a century ago, and to keep green the memory of that prince of companions and friends, Louis Le Couteulx de Caumont.

LETTERS OF LOUIS LE COUTEULX WHICH CAUSED HIS CAPTURE

Extract from a letter from Mr. Le Couteulx to Mr. Garrett Gottridge at Philadelphia, dated December 1, 1796:

Bishop Carroll at our request has wrote to the Clergy of Canada, praying them to set some persons to collect money in Montreal and Quebec for the erection of our Church. I wish the English would admit me there this winter, I would *parlé Francois* among the Canadians, and call on every one of them for something, but I am told that the British Government has given strict orders to Governor Prescott, not to let a single Frenchman enter Canada. I hope to see the day when they will penetrate into that Country without their leave.

I am sorry chiefly at this present conjuncture to see the President withdraw from office. I wish he had remained until the War of Europe was over, or until the removal of Congress to the Federal City. I am afraid the Peace and prosperity of this Country will be disturbed by the French, owing to the Treaty with the English. The French would digest anything but that, but they are like the sensitive plant, the least thing offends them.

I hear the Spaniards have given them in exchange for Spanish St. Domingo, Louisiana and the two Floridas. I believe they want Canada likewise, for to have a footing at each extremity of the Continent. Their views for it, time will show. The Spaniards are determined to have Gibraltar from the English, or else they never will listen to any terms of Peace or accommodation with England.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Le Couteulx to Mr. Rodolph Tellier at New York, dated March 27, 1797:

[Translation.]

My wish is that the Republic do send into the Gulph of St. Lawrence in the month of June next, Ten Ships of the Line, with five to six thousand Troops; they would be sure of taking Canada. It is astonishing that since the commencement of the War, they have not thought of it. The Canadians, weary since the year 1756 of the British Government wish for nothing better than to unite themselves to France. Adet should write to the Directory upon the subject. It is the wish of all the Canadians. The Canadians ought to send a Deputation to the Directory.

Extract from a letter from the same to the same dated 6th May, 1797:

[Translation.]

In a letter which I wrote five weeks ago, to Mr. De Liancourt, I mentioned to him, that ten ships of the line and six thousand soldiers were more than sufficient to take Canada from the English: that I hoped that the Directory would prepare for an expedition early in this summer: that there were 197,000 Canadians, who were all true frenchmen. And I further observed, that France should make herself Master of the Imperial City of Hambourgh, by sending a Squadron of ships up the Elbe; and that she ought also to introduce into England 50,000,000 of counterfeit Bank Notes as a retaliation.

Extract from a letter from the same to the same, dated 21st May, 1797:

[Translation.]

May France succeed in amusing England with an Invasion, and send into the Gulph of St Lawrence, this Summer, a Squadron of Ships and a sufficient number of Troops, for the purpose of taking that country from the English.

I have observed with pleasure that Spain has ceded to France, in return for the Spanish part of St. Domingo, Louisiana and the two Floridas. The Whites may cultivate the land in the two Floridas and Louisiana, but they cannot in the Colonies, which before twenty years are elapsed, will become, like the Coasts of Barbary an Asylum for Pirates. The Negroes, when free, will employ themselves solely in robbing on the Sea. This country will be under the necessity of making Treaties with them, similar to those which they have already made with the Dey of Algiers, Tunis, and Morrocco.

I would bet two to one that what I remark to you here, will happen.

Extract from a letter from the same to the same, dated 9th June, 1797:

[Translation.]

I should not be at all surprised to hear of the arrival of the Squadron of French ships in the Gulph of St Lawrence. I wish it most sincerely for the sake of the poor Canadians, of the greater part of whom, the English make Beasts of Burthen.

I would wish the English to lose all their possessions in America and in India. *Tipposybe* [Tippoo-Sahib] should treat them as the Chinese do, that is, permit them to have but one port, and not an inch of ground beyond the Walls.

Till I have the pleasure of giving you the fraternal embrace, I remain, etc.

Extract from a letter from Mr. Le Couteulx to P. Stephen Duponceau, dated July 6th, 1797:

[Translation.]

I had flattered myself with the expectation that the French Republic would have sent this month, into the Gulph of St Lawrence, a Squadron of ten Ships of the line, and six or eight thousand Soldiers, to take from the haughty English, Canada, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Generally all that they possess on this Continent. The Canadians burn with impatience to return under the French Government. I wish most sincerely that they should be independent, and under the protection of France in time of War.

Extract from the postscript of a letter from Mr. Le Couteulx to Citizen Rodolph Tellier, at New York dated 27th July 1797:

[Translation.]

I had flattered myself with the expectation that a Squadron of French ships would arrive in the Gulph of St Lawrence this Summer, to take Canada, as well as Nova Scotia, and the Banks of Newfoundland, from the haughty English.

About what are the Directory and our Ships employed?

Translation from the postscript of a letter from Mr. Le Couteulx, to Mr. C. F. Volney, Dated December 1797:

I wish much, dear Country-man, that Canada should be wrested from the English. Six Thousand French Soldiers would immediately take it from this haughty Nation. The poor Canadians groan under the yoke of the British Government, and are their Beasts of Burthen. They keep them in ignorance and poverty. I wish with all my heart that the Directory would send into the Gulph of St Lawrence in the month of May next, a Squadron of Seven or eight Ships of the Line, with the number of soldiers above mentioned, and fire-arms and Ammunition for the good Canadians. From the information which I have received from a number of good Republicans as well as Acadians as Canadians, who have been true, France might reckon on thirty or forty thousand men who would immediately upon the disembarkation of the Troops, enroll themselves with alacrity. There are now at Quebec from twelve to fifteen hundred Soldiers, and the rest of Lower and Upper Canada, from two to three thousand, including both the English and Canadians. The latter would soon desert for the good cause, which is that of Sacred Liberty. In a word, the Canadians are really good and hospitable, but dupes of the English and Scotch, who keep them in a state of dependence. The Directory, I dare to hope, will interest themselves in the fate of these good people, who groan under the weight of abuses, such as oppression, tythes, Corvées, and other Shackles. The Canadians cannot forget that they are French men, and they wish to a man, to return under the French Government, and to be free like their Brothers.

OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE IN THE CASE OF MR. LE COUTEULX

PHILADELPHIA Feb. 28th 1800.

DEAR SIR: This will be handed to you by Mr. Le Couteulx, a French Gentleman, but who resided many years in the United States and is naturalized. He is going to Detroit, and on his way wishes to see the Great Falls. Allow me to introduce him to you as a Polite and Friendly Man to your Civilities.

With much respect, I remain Dear Sir,
Your most obedient servant

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

To Major Rivardi.
[Commandant, Fort Niagara.]

FORT NIAGARA Oct. 7th 1800.

DEAR SIR: I this moment received a letter from Mr. Louis Le Couteulx, which I beg leave to enclose. Another letter which that gentleman delivered to me at his arrival, I beg also to submit to your Majesty's perusal.

You will see that Mr. Le Couteulx being a naturalized American particularly recommended to me by the Secretary of State, I must feel interested in what concerns him; and as I shall have to notify my Superiors of his detention, I request you will have the goodness as far as is consistent with service to inform me of the motives which induced you to keep him as a Prisoner.

With the most respectful regard, I have the honor to be, Dear Sir,
Your most obedient and very humble servant,

J. J. ULRICH RIVARDI,
Major 1st Regt U. S. Art. and Eng'rs Commanding.

P. S. Would you have the kindness to give the enclosed to Mr. Le Couteulx.
Colonel McDonell, Commander, Fort George.

[FORT GEORGE, Oct. 7, 1800.]

SIR: As it appears by the enclosures in your letter of this date, that Mr. Louis Le Couteulx, detained by me at Fort George, is a Naturalized American, and has been introduced to you by the late Secretary of State of the United States: it is painful to me to be able to afford you no other information for your Superiors, than that

Mr. Le Couteulx, being a Frenchman, who has left France since the period designated by the Alien Law, and being without a Pass-port from one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, my duties require that I should detain him as a Prisoner, until the pleasure of His Excellency The Commander in Chief upon my Report, shall be notified to me.

I have the honor to be with the highest regard, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,

J. McDONELL,
Lt. Col. 2nd Batt. R. C. Vol's Commanding.

Major Rivardi, Commander of Fort Niagara.

PROVINCE OF LOWER CANADA.

To HIS EXCELLENCY ROBERT SHORE MILNES, Esq., Lieutenant Governor of Lower Canada.

May it please Your Excellency:

I have been this day honored with Your Excellency's Commands directing me to peruse the several papers which have been found upon the person of Louis Le Couteulx with the written information which has been given respecting him, and to report as soon as possible my Opinion—whether they afford sufficient "matter to warrant the Commitment of Mr. Le Couteulx by Civil Power, and if not, whether there are any and what means of detaining him until His Majesty's Pleasure is known."

In obedience to these Commands of Your Excellency, I have attentively perused the papers and written information to which they refer, and have now the honor to report my opinion upon the several points referred.

The necessity of detaining Mr. Le Couteulx until His Majesty's Pleasure is Known, if legally practicable, is evident from the Letter of His Grace the Duke of Portland of the 7th of June 1798 to General Prescott, grounded on information received from His Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary at Philadelphia. But as the Alien Act of this Province only permits the commitment of an Alien to Custody for the purpose of immediate transportation from the Province, and as no Charge on Oath is made against Mr. Le Couteulx, I do not conceive that he can be legally and effectually detained by the Civil Power, but at the same time I am clearly of opinion that he may be legally detained in Military Custody as a Prisoner of War.

Mr. Le Couteulx, in his examination, declares himself to be by birth a Frenchman; that he first came to America in 1786, went back to France in 1789, and returned to America in 1790.

According, therefore, to the well known Maxim, "*Nemo potest exnere Patriam*"—a Maxim of universal Law, and of the Laws of England and of this Country in particular, Mr. Le Couteulx being born a Frenchman must remain such, and being the subject of a Power with whom we are now at open War, he is liable to be detained as a Prisoner of War. For Enemies continue such wherever they happen to be; the place in which they are found does not vary their quality; that is determined by their political ties. The Citizen

of any State wherever he may be, is the Enemy of all those with whom his nation is at war. And upon these principles it is said to have been determined by all the judges of England that if a Frenchman enters the King's Dominions, after war is proclaimed against his nation, his Person and goods may be seized even if he be driven there by a tempest.

Mr. Le Couteulx has alledged that he is a naturalized Subject of the United States of America, according to their Laws, and he says in his Examination "that in 1787, he took the necessary oaths to the United States of America, before a Magistrate"—By which I principally understand the Oath of Allegiance.

Admitting this to be the fact in its fullest extent, I do not think it can in any shape effect the case in question.

The Allegiance which Mr. Le Couteulx has sworn to the United States of America must be held to be barely local allegiance. And whatever may be the Laws of the United States in this respect, they can only be considered by us as affording Mr. Le Couteulx a right of Citizenship within the Limits of the United States, for, as we hold "that the natural born Subject of one Prince cannot by any act of his own, no not by swearing Allegiance to another, put off or discharge his natural Allegiance to the former," to admit that his Majesty or his officers are bound to notice any Statute of the United States and in consequence thereof to consider Mr. Le Couteulx in any other light, than that of a subject of France is to admit that the States of America have a right to Legislate for the Empire of Great Britain.

I am, for the reasons above stated, of opinion, that the papers found upon the person of Mr. Le Couteulx and the written information which has been given respecting him do not warrant his Commitment by the Civil Power. But I am further of opinion that Mr. Le Couteulx being an Alien Enemy may legally be detained as a Prisoner of War, until His Majesty's Pleasure is known.

All which, nevertheless, is most respectfully submitted to your Excellency's consideration by Your Excellency's Most Obedient and Most humble Servant,

J. SEWELL,

Attorney General of Lower Canada.

QUEBEC, 12th November 1800.

QUEBEC 19th Nov. 1800.

MY LORD: In consequence of your Grace's letter to General Prescott of the 7th June, 1798, marked Most secret, and the Extract of a Letter, therein referred to, from Mr. Liston dated Philadelphia 2nd April 1798, It appears that orders were given by General Prescott to the Officers commanding the several Posts in Upper Canada to apprehend Mr. Le Couteulx the Frenchman therein mentioned, should he be found within the Province, and either send him to Quebec under sufficient Escort, or detain him in confinement until directions could be given respecting him. In conformity to the above orders, Mons'r Le Couteulx was arrested at Fort George opposite Niagara on the 7th of October last, by order of Lieut. Colonel McDonell of the 2nd Battalion Royal Canadian Volunteers, Com-

manding at that Post, having under his Charge a considerable quantity of Merchandize, with which, as he said, he meant to proceed to Detroit. The season being far advanced Lieut. Colonel McDonell judged it necessary to send him immediately to Quebec, where he arrived on the 4th Instant. The case of Mons'r Le Couteulx was, upon my application to His Excellency Lieut. Governor Milnes, referred to the Attorney General of this Province, who was of Opinion that there did not appear sufficient matter to warrant the Commitment of him by the Civil Power, but that Mr. Le Couteulx being an Alien Enemy, may be legally detained as a Prisoner of War until His Majesty's Pleasure is known. This Opinion I have adopted, and shall wait Your Grace's further Instructions respecting him.

There being no prison here for the Custody of Prisoners of War, I applied to Lieut. Governor Milnes for accommodations for Monsieur Le Couteulx, and he has supplied me with two convenient rooms in the Common Goal of the District, which are wholly appropriate to his use. He is now confined there as a Prisoner of War, with a subaltern's allowance of Fuel and Candles, and half a Dollar per day to furnish himself with other necessities; there is a Centinel over the Goal and it is contiguous to one of the Garrison Guards.

I think it necessary to inform Your Grace that altho' no Charge upon Oath can be made against Mons'r Le Couteulx by any person in Canada, of Offences or Practices against our Government, yet, from the year 1794 to the present hour, Mons'r Le Couteulx, from a variety of information, has ever been considered as an object of very great suspicion.

A Copy of the Attorney General's Report on the Case of Mr. Le Couteulx, I have the honor to transmit herewith, for Your Grace's information, having also sent a copy thereof to Mr. Liston His Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary at Philadelphia.

I think it is my duty to inform Your Grace, that upon the arrest of Mons'r Le Couteulx, an application was made on his behalf by Major Rivardi, Commandant of the American Post of Niagara, of which I enclose your Grace a copy, with a Copy of Lieut Colonel McDonell's answer. As this letter seems to intimate that an application may be made on the part of the United States, claiming Mons'r Le Couteulx as an American subject, I should be glad to receive Your Grace's Instructions as to the conduct to be observed by me in such a case; If in the Interim, before I am honored with Your Grace's Instructions, any application of this kind should be made, it is my intention to return for answer that Monsieur Le Couteulx cannot be considered by us in any other light, than that of a Natural born French Subject.

A Box of Papers very voluminous belonging to Monsieur Le Couteulx are under the inspection of two Magistrates, assisted by His Majesty's Law Servants; It is impossible to say what they all contain from their bulk and numbers, but enough has already been read to indicate the Political Principles of Monsieur Le Couteulx.

Among the papers there is a Letter from Le Couteulx & Co. Bankers at Paris, introducing the celebrated Anarchist Volney to Mons'r Le Couteulx and expressing their conviction that Mr. Volney's known attachment to the Revolution will be sufficient induce-

ment to pay him every attention in his power; and there is a Correspondence between Monsieur Le Couteulx and Mr. Volney and the Duc de Liancourt written in terms of great intimacy and friendship. There are other correspondences with people apparently the greatest Partizans of the French Revolution at different periods.

There is also a paper in his own handwriting, expressing his wish for the conquest and humiliation of Great Britain by the Arms of France, and a Plan of a Republican Government, but whether this be Monsieur Le Couteulx Idea of one, or a Copy of the Constitution of any existing Republic, there has not yet been time to ascertain.

As soon as all the Papers can be Examined and arranged, the whole substance shall be transmitted without loss of time to Your Grace.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect, My Lord, Your Grace's Most Obedient and

Most humble Servant,

P. HUNTER.

His Grace, The Duke of Portland.

QUEBEC, 2nd January 1801.

MY LORD: Since I had the honor of writing to your Grace of the 19th of November, the whole of the Letters and Papers which were found in Couteulx's possession; have been carefully examined, and such parts of them as most strongly indicate his wishes and contain his proposals for the Invasion of Canada by the Enemy, have been selected. These selections with translations, I herewith transmit to your Grace.

A number of other Letters were found, wherein he expresses his hatred and enmity to the British Nation and Constitution, in terms of violent invective.

It is to be observed that all his letters were written whilst he resided within the territories of the United States, nor does there appear Evidence of his ever having been in any part of Canada, or of his having any Correspondence except of a private nature, with his Majesty's Subjects in that Country.

The whole of the Letters that have been selected, were copied with his own hand, and it was from these copies that the Selections, which I have transmitted to Your Grace were taken.

I have also transmitted the copy of a Letter from Mr. Hamilton of New York, respecting the pretended privileges claimed by Couteulx, as a Citizen of the United States, that letter with some others of no importance, addressed to Couteulx himself, were received by me from Major General Burton at Montreal, so late as the 17th of the last month.

I have only to add, that the last mentioned Letters were opened and examined by two Magistrates and that the whole of the papers and Letters found in the possession of, or belonging to Couteulx, remain under Seal in their Custody.

I have the honor to be with the highest respect, My Lord,

Your Grace's Most obedient and humble Servant,

P. HUNTER.

His Grace, The Duke of Portland.

YORK, Upper Canada, 10th August, 1801.

MY LORD: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Grace's Dispatch of the 9th of May. Agreeably to Your Grace's Orders, I shall detain Monsieur Le Couteulx as a Prisoner of War so long as hostilities continue between England and France.

My Lord, Your Grace's Most obedient and Most humble servant,
P. HUNTER.

His Grace, the Duke of Portland.

LETTERS OF LOUIS LE COUTEULX TO JOSEPH ELLICOTT AND OTHERS.

BUFFALO July 19, 1803.

JOSEPH ELLICOTT, Esq^{re}, Batavia:

DEAR SIR: I got here safe on Friday last with my family. I hope yours is well.

Being desirous of becoming purchaser of Lot No. 2 on the East side of the Main Street facing Mr. Palmer's house in this Town, with a determination to build on it in the course of next spring, I shall be very much obliged to you to let me know *in answer* the price and terms of payment for my Government in so doing you'll oblige in a particular manner,

Your most obed. serv^t

LOUIS LE COUTEULX.

I should be glad also to purchase in the vicinity of this Town a small farm containing about 80 Acres. I wish I was near my friends Theopilas Casenove [Theophilus Cazenove] & Vanstaphurst I certainly would persuade them to erect a house of worship and a free school in this Place.

There is a possibility of making a good harbour at Buffalo in spite of the Barr which is at its entrance. I am sure that Yankes can remove it, if Hollanders will not undertake it.

Yours,

L. LE C'lx.

NOVA AMSTERDAM July 20th 1803

JOSEPH ELLICOTT Esq^{re}, Batavia:

DEAR SIR: Your kind letter under date of the 16th inst. came to hand this morning, and in answer I will observe to you that although the price of two hundred & fifty dollars for the Town lot No. 2 with an out lot of four Acres *up Buffaloe Creek* is excessively high in this wild country, nevertheless, I am willing to take them at that price, being anxious of becoming a purchaser in this Place

and very probably an inhabitant before long. I have accordingly paid into the hands of Mr. Thompson, of this Town, *who will remit it to you*, the sum of fifty dollars, being a fifth part of the purchase money, and the remainder I shall pay you in equal instalments with interest from the date of the article of agreement which I request you to draw and send to me *at Detroit*, intending to leave this Place the first fair wind on board of the Wilkinson Capt. Connelly [John Conley].

In the course of next spring, or sooner, I shall erect a house of the dimensions you mention, on the Town lot and will fence and improve one lot within the specified time of eighteen months. I shall take it as a particular favor if you would include in my out lot the spring which is in the open meadow west of the Town Plott. you'll oblige me also to let me know the price of the Town lots up the Main Street, for my Government. I will write by duplicate to my friends Messrs. Vanstaphorst on my arrival at Detroit & advise them to build here a house of worship and a free school which will induce many people to come to this Place to live. I will also let them know the possibility, either of removing the Barr which is at the mouth of Buffaloe Creek, so as to make it a safe harbour for all the vessels that navigate on the lake or cut a canal from the mouth of said creek to *Black Rock*. this place will become of much consequence if the Proprietors will sacrifice a little money in improvements, and encourage mecanicks to settle here. I know many that are willing to become inhabitants, but are not able to purchase Town Lots, they think \$50. is a great deal too much.

I remain very truly, your most obed't servant,

LOUIS LE COUTEULX

NEW AMSTERDAM, Novber 5th 1804.

JOSEPH ELLICOT Esq^{re}, Batavia:

RESPECTED SIR: Permit me to drop you a few lines, for to request you, to let me have Lot No. 51 adjoining Mr. Crows, *opposite Mr. Wells* on the Road to Major Perrie's mill. Mr. Legget, a man from Canada, has taken it ever since last June, but I find he has not done anything on it worth speaking, except girding and cutting a few trees, if you'll let me have it, I will certainly improve it this winter and erect a neat frame House for a family. forty Acres is but a small farm. if Lot No. 52 which joins it is not taken I should take it as a great favor if you would let me have it, which would make me *in the whole* Eighty Acres.

I remain with much Esteem, your most obedt servt,

LOUIS LE COUTEULX

N. B. be so kind as to favor me with an answer.

NOVA AMSTERDAM March 3d 1805.

JOSEPH ELLICOT Esq^{re}, Batavia:

RESPECTED SIR: I have the honour of informing you of my having purchased this day, from Mr. James Woodard of the 12 mile

Creek, for a sum of fifty two Dollars, all his improvements on a track of land of 163 Acres, more or less, adjoining Major Perrie's farm which Tract he has relinquish'd to me. I beg of you to consider me as the real purchaser, and request you to favor me with a few lines on the subject.

I remain with much Esteem, your most obedt servt,

LOUIS LE COUTEULX.

N. B. Mr. James Woodard informs me that the price of the tract above mentioned was 3 Dolls per Acre payable in ten years.

BUFFALO April 8, 1807.

JOSEPH ELLICOTT Esq^{re} Batavia:

DEAR SIR: I have before me your most esteem'd favors of the 1st of December 1806 and 27th of March. This last, brought me a Handbill, containing the Republican nomination for Governor, Leutt-Governor, Senate, and members of Assembly, which I have on receipt pasted up in Mr. Landon's Barr-room.

I observe with sorrow that the Lewisites and their adherents, have rejected the Bill for dividing the county of Genessee, and I rejoice to see that my friends John Taylor, Thomas Dieu, Dewit Clinton, and Simeon Dewit, are in favor of this Place. I have no doubt in my mind but that we will carry the present nomination, and that next session of the Legislature we shall get a County and fix the Court House and Goal at Buffalo.

I have the pleasure to inform you that we had last evening at *Moor's Tavern* a meeting of Republican Electors, for supporting at the approaching Election.

Di D. Tompkins for Governor, John Brown for Lieutt-Governor, Alex Rhea for Senator, Asah Warner, Philetus Swift and William Rumsay for members of the Assembly.

Old Mr. Eddy of the 18 mile Creek chosen Chairman and Augustus Porter, Secretary. The number of Republican votes amounted to sixty-four. two copies of the Resolution have been sent to Canandagua and Albany, for *Insertion* in the public papers.—I shall spare no pains for to gain as many as I can to our Party, which I hope will triumph in spite of the Federalists. Capt Lee from Niagara, Di Chapin, Cyrenus Chapen, E. Walden, Gillett & others have held at *Barkers Tavern* last Evening, a Federal meeting. their number was very small indeed.

George Keith, an honest young man (a joiner by Trade), who has resided nearly two years in this village, has desired me to write you for to let him have a couple of Town Lots No. 80 & 81, bounded by Schimmelpennick's Avenue. Mr. Levy Strong, has likewise requested me to ask you for the Town lot No. 78 adjoining his own, you'll be so kind as to inform me whether they may have them.

Your first letter mentioned that on your return to Batavia, from here, your avocations had been so numerous as to prevent you from taking into consideration the price and Terms of sales for the Out lot No. 1. I shall take it as a very great kindness, if you'll give me a favorable answer.

I recommend myself very particularly to your friendship and remain most Truly, your affectionate serv't,

LOUIS LE COUTEULX.

N. B. be so good as to present my respects to Mrs. Ellicott.

I do certify, that Mr. Henry Lake, has made & constructed agreeably to the true intent and meaning of the Articles of Agreement made and concluded on the eighth day of August, 1807, between Joseph Ellicott Esqre, and said Henry Lake, one hundred and twenty-one perches and fifteen links, of crossways, in the Road leading from Vanstophurst avenue, in the Village of Buffalo to the first House at the Indian Village, which have been fully compleated on the Eighth day of this month, in Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand, this Tenth day of October A. D. 1807.

LOUIS LE COUTEULX.

BUFFALO Octber 11th, 1807

JOSEPH ELLICOTT Esq^{re} Batavia:

DEAR SIR: Owing to a severe indisposition which has confined me ten Days, to my room, I have been prevented from answering your friendly letters under date of the 8th of last month & 4th Inst. I observe in the first that you have granted to Messrs Stephen & Barmett Stilman, Town Lots No. 49 & 50, which I will add to the numbers already granted & sold, and in your second, I take notice that Mr. Hubbard has applied to you for out lot No. 25 in favor of Simeon Hubbard, and also for out lot No. 145 for Thos Houston. When Mr. Hubbard calls on me, I shall attend to his business.

Mr. Henry Lake having called on me *last Friday morning* for to inspect the crossways he had made between this Village & that of the Indians. I have examined them very attentively from the corner of your ten acre field until I got to the Indian Doctor's House,—which is the first at the entrance of the Indian Village, and have found them completely finished according to the tenure of the agreement made between you & Him. I have found but very few places, indeed, where I could press my two fingers between the Logs. I have not, my Dear Sir, seen better crossways any where. Mr. Lake's crossways are generally pretty straight and even, made up of good logs. upon the whole you would be pleased to see them. if I know anything about crossways, he has done you justice. There is as much odds between his & those of Chapin, as there is between darkness and light. Those of Chapin are very uneven and crooked and the logs very remote from each other, which makes it dangerous for Horsemen to go over them, particularly in the Night Time, many of his crossways should be altered, otherwise they become of no use. Mr. Henry Lake and Peter his brother, held the chain, and as they measured I counted and marked every rods and links, beginning at the crossway this side of the Indian Village until we reached the corner of your ten acre field, and found one hundred and twenty-one perches and fifteen links.—I have observed that he has made in one place over the long crossways, *over the swamp* four rods by

one for the passage of two carriages abreast. He has likewise cut forty two Stumps and roots from a foot to three in *Diameter*. he had left them on the crossways for me to look at. He has likewise cut a piece of a road round a crossway of Chapins, measuring twenty one rods by one in breadth, he has also covered tolerably well *11*. I say Eleven rods and thirty five links of crossways where you had directed him.—I conclude by observing to you, that I have examined the whole of his work with as much attention as if he had done it for me.

I should not have known there was a comet if you had not had the politeness to mention it to me. I have seen it very plain with the naked Eye.

the out Lot No. 25 fronting the main road has no improvement made on it, only the Timber is mostly cut down on the forepart. This Lot is between Huston & White. White told me this morning that he had $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres cleared on his out Lot No. 26 & would clear the rest this fall, reserving some Trees. He intends to build his House next week.

I will take it as a favor if you'll send me a map of the Holland purchase,

I remain with much esteem & regard your real well wisher

LOUIS LE COUTEULX.

N. B. My wiffe presents you her best compliments, be so good as to present mine to your Brother.

BUFFALO, Oct. 29th 1807.

JOSEPH ELLICOT Esq^{re}, Batavia:

DEAR SIR: Mr. Leech, Clark to Jos. Gillett, a very worthy young man, who owns some property at Home, and who gets \$25 Dolls monthly for his wages exclusive of his board, has called on me, a few days ago for to grant him the Town Lot No. 46.—I have observed to him that He might have it, provided you had not disposed of the same. I shall wait your answer.—Mr. Leech has assured me that if he gets it, he will make you one or two payments very shortly, and conform himself to the conditions which I have Read to him.

Levy Strong & George A. Laith, both carpenters and partners, have also applied to me for the out Lots No. 135 & 146, which I have promised them, but not until I heard from you, as you might have granted them. They both promise to make you a payment in a few months.—Since their application for those two out lots, Mr. Thos. Houston called on me, on Saturday last, and with an imperious Tone, asked me whether I did not know that the out lot No. 46, which I had promised to Levy Strong had been granted to him, along ago, by Mr. Joseph Ellicott, with the outlot No. 147. I answered him, that you had sent me a transcript of all the sales, both of the out lots and Town lots, and had not seen his name except to the out Lot No. 24 on which his House and nursery stands. He replied that certainly you had made a mistake. I answered him that there was no mistake committed in your office. he told me that he had given no orders to Hubbard for the out lot No. 149. He says

that He had his own views in applying for it. Houston went on & said that he had done more good to the Holland Company's purchase by his coming into it, than any other man. I asked him what he had done, that he should praise himself so much. He answered that He had planted several nurserys with apple Trees, and that his intention was to plant those out Lots that He thought you had granted Him, likewise with Apple Trees. I observed him that Back lots were equally as good for that purpose, and less liable to be plundered. He left me very much displeased, and said He would write you on the subject, observing that if he could not have it as he could wish, it was Time for him to move away & concluded by saying that his money was as good as that of any other man.

The Inhabitants are cutting their firewood and House frames, &c &c on the outlots. Capt Pratt got all his House frame on one or two of the out Lots near Town, and Hersey, the Tanner, has done the same on the Lot adjoining Despars, & mine. I fear it will discourage people from purchasing Lots when they find neither wood for fire, fencing, or building. An Advertisement under your own Hand would prevent these depredations, which are unlawful.

I remain with much Esteem Dear Sir your real well wisher

LOUIS LE COUTEULX.

My wiffe presents you her compliments & begs to be remembered to you. Please to excuse my bad writing, being as yet very unwell, having had a relapse.

Lake has begun to cover & alter Chapin's crossways. Lot No. 96 is Vacant.

BUFFALO Novem 24th 1807.

JOSEPH ELLICOTT Esq^{re}, Batavia:

DEAR SIR: Your most esteem'd favor of the 9th Instant came safe to hand on the 17th day following.

I have granted to Mr. Elizat Leech, the Town Lot No. 46. and have entered it to his name in my book at that date.—he promises to comply with the conditions I have given him, and proposes to wait on you shortly, for an article.

I have perused, sealed, and delivered to Thos. Nuston, the letter you sent me.—All the improvements he has made on one of the two out lots you had entered to him, *on the 20th of June last*, are two or three days chopping.—He told me to inform you that he had given up the idea of doing any more work on the aforesaid out lots, and that you might regrant them. He told me likewise to tel you, that it was not in his power, *at present*, to make you the small payment which you had required of him, observing to me, that He had sold to Mr. Wintermoot at *Fort Erie Rapids* a yoke of oxen, payable on the first day of April next, and that he would wait on you *at that epoch*, for to make you a full payment for the Lot on which his house stands.

Ebenezer Walden, told me some time ago, he had relinquished his out lot No. 76 to Zenos Barker and that he would take the next

lot No. 75. Be so good as to inform me whether you have disposed of it.

Zenos Barker desires me to let you know that as soon as he had collected the taxes, he would remit you a sum of \$50. He wishes to know what are your terms, & conditions of sale for the house which Ewing has erected, on Town Lot No. 41.—Capt Lee at Niagara, is not worth a *groat*. I am told that young Mr. Phelps, to whom he owes \$8000. levelled an execution on everything that he had.

Be so good as to inform me whether I may grant to Levy Strong and George Keith, carpenters and copartners, both very clever men, and doing well, the out Lots No. 155 & 147.

Hubbard has given up the notion of taking the out Lot No. 25. because the Timber has been culled, and what remains are crooked chestnut trees, which are not fit to make rails, and some Dog and Iron wood, the upper part of this lot is very sandy, and the back part very uneven and swampy. Such as the lot is, I should like to own it on account of its proximity to my out lots, which are in the rear of it. Should you be willing to let me have it on reasonable terms, I shall consider it as an *additional favor* conferred on me—the price which is quoted in the Book you have confided to my care is \$12 p acre.

My wiffe truly thankful for your kind remembrance of her, desires me to present you her best compliments and her good wishes for your happiness.

I remain, with much Esteem & Regard your devoted servant

LOUIS LE COUTEULX.

N. B. Being often asked what are the lowest prices of the outer Lots, hereunder described, I request you to have the goodness to let me know in your next, so that I may satisfy the Inquirers.

No. 52. 53. 54. 56. 62. 63. 64. 74. 75. These out Lots are on the East side of Big Buffalo Creek.

No. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. These out lots are on the west side of said creek.

BUFFALO, Jany 1st 1808

JOSEPH ELLICOTT Esq^{re} Batavia:

DEAR SIR: Mr. Vincent Grant remitted me on his arrival here your kind favor of the 24th of last month. I have entered at *that date*, in my book, to his son, William Grant, two out Lots No. 79 & 80, which you have sold to him at the rate of \$14 per acre and have credited him of \$30 which his father has paid in your office, in part of the purchase money of the aforesaid out lots. Mr. Vincent Grant told me that you had granted him the out Lot No. 74 for \$6 per acre, and requested me to enter it to him at the date of your Letter, which I promised him to do, not doubting *his veracity*.

Mr. Henry Ketchum, by profession a Carpenter, Lately come from little York, in *Upper Canada*, has applied to me for the Town Lot No. 51. it is as handsome a building spot as any in the village, and very well situated, fronting three streets with a full view of the *court Hospital*. if you have not reserved it for yourself, or any of

your friends, have the goodness to inform me whether I may grant it to him.

Permit me, dear Sir, at the beginning of this year, to offer you my sincere vows, for your happiness, may the Great Architect of the Universe, preserve your health many years and crown all your undertakings, is the sincere wish of,

Your devoted and faithful servant

LOUIS LE COUTEULX.

N. B. My wife presents you her best compliments.

BUFFALO March 10th. 1808

JOSEPH ELLICOTT Esq^{re} Batavia:

DEAR SIR: Being deprived of the pleasure of receiving any of your favors, the present is to inform you that I have granted last Evening to Dr. Daniel Chapin of this Village, the Town Lot No. 18, rated at \$50, and to his son James, the Town Lot No. 58, rated at \$30.—I have entered their names in my book, and will give them the Terms and conditions of sale this day. Dr. Daniel Chapin has requested Mr. I. Landon to remit you one fifth of the purchase money on each Lot.

I have likewise granted and entered to Henry Ketchum, on the 1st of February Last, the out lot No. 17, rated at \$20 per acre, he has cleared great part of it and is going to build immediately on it. he has brought on the spot, Bricks, Shingles and other materials to that effect. He promises to pay the fifth of the purchase money in a couple of month.

I remain with much esteem, your devoted servt,

LOUIS LE COUTEULX.

N. B. My wiffe desires me to present you her best compliments.

BUFFALO March 18th 1808

JOSEPH ELLICOTT Esq^{re} Batavia

DEAR SIR: Your most esteem'd favor of the 10th inst came safe to hand on Wednesday last. I hope your next will inform me of the success of your application to the Legislature, for the Erection of a new County and the Establishment of the Seat of Justice at Buffalo.

I have granted on the 12th inst to Wm Enos Frost, the Town Lot No. 19 at \$55. I have the promise of one fifth of the purchase money in the course of May next.

Mr. Elizah Leech has requested me to ask you what abatement you would be willing to make him, if he pays you the cash *in hand* for the Town Lot No. 46, rated at \$100. which I have granted him on the 17th of November last.

Mr. Erastus Granger called on me yesterday, for to look at the plans of our village. he has a desire to become purchaser of the town lots No. 51 & 52. I told him the price of each, and offered

him to write you on the subject, but he reply'd me that he would do it himself.

I remain with unfeigned sincerity, Dear Sir, Your affectionate
LOUIS LE COUTEULX.

My wiffe presents you her best compliments.

N. B. Capt. Pratt & Joseph Landon have haul'd out of their garden spot Black Joes filthy house. E. Barker is the only person in the whole settlement who did not rejoice at the Event.

BUFFALO March 31st 1808

JOSEPH ELLICOTT Esq^{re}, Batavia

DEAR SIR: Your most esteem'd favor of the 29th Ins't is before me.—I have entered in my book to Mr. Hitchcock the Out Lots No. 88 and 89 and to Mr. E. Granger the Town lots No. 51 & 52.

Dr. Daniel Chapin called on me this morning with one fifth of the purchase money in hand & the additional sum of 5 per cent for the Town lot No. 59, rated \$50. which adjoins his son James lot No. 58.—I told him that you might have disposed of it. I would write you on the subject & let him know your answer.

Mr. Kellick, carpenter & Bridge builder, *lately come to this village*, has apply'd to me for the out lot No. 52, rated \$15. per acre, and Messrs. Elizah Cobb & Thos. Cobb, his brothers in Law, have also apply'd to me for the out lots No. 23 & 144 rated at \$14. per acre. These men bear an excellent character and are industrious. be so kind as to inform me whether I may grant them the lots above mentioned.

Our Legislature could not chuse [a] handsome[r] name than *Clarence* for our Township. I'll receive with pleasure the paper containing the act of the devision of the County of Genessie.

The Indians of the Six Nations, have held a council *at this Place*, for two days, to which I was present. I have observed with infinite pleasure that their determination is to remain *Neutral* in case a war should take place between this country and Great Brittain.

I remain with much Esteem, Dear Sir,

Your affectionate & devoted servant,

LOUIS LE COUTEULX.

N. B. My wiffe presents you her best compliments.

BUFFALO April 7th, 1808

JOSEPH ELLICOTT Esq^{re}, Batavia

DEAR SIR: Your most esteemed favor of the 5th Inst came safe to hand on Wednesday last. I have granted and entered in my book to Dr. Daniel Chapin the Town lot No. 59 rated \$50.—you'll find herewith \$12.50, being his fifth of the purchase money including 5 p% on said Lot. I have likewise granted to Mr. Stephen Kellick, the out lot No. 22 rated \$15 per acre, instead of the out lot No. 52. I have also granted to Thomas Cobb & Elizah Cobb,

the out lots No. 23 & 144, rated \$14. per acre. they all have requested me to allow them three months credit, for to pay their fifths of the purchase money, which I have granted them, they are going to improve immediately their respective lots & build on them in the course of this summer. I have granted this morning to Edmund Raymond, Saddler, the Town lot No. 149 rated \$30. on which he has already erected a House, thinking it was on the Town lot No. 150, which you have granted to Him and Abraham Henry, his partner, last summer. E. Raymond promises to pay me next week \$6. for his fifth of the purchase money on T. lot No. 149, and intends to pay you the remainder in June.

I thank you very kindly, not only for the paper which you have forwarded me containing the act for the division of the County of Genessie but likewise for recommending me to your friends at Albany, as a *fit person* for to fill the office of Clerk of the County of Niagara, whether I am appointed or not, you may rest assured, my dear Sir, that I shall always be grateful to you.

I have observed for some time past some uneasiness among the Inhabitants of our village, respecting the boundary limits of the Town of *Clarence*, and I have heard the person you allude to say in presence of, several, that *if the Holland Company did own the land, they did not own the People.* & I have heard him say, moreover, that, *as an Agent* you had acted faithfully for their interest, in saving them \$1000 per annum. upon the whole he is not pleased at our Limits.

I remain with much esteem your devoted serv't

LOUIS LE COUTEULX.

N. B. My wiffe presents you her best compliments.

BUFFALO April 15th, 1808.

JOSEPH ELLICOTT Esq^{re}, Batavia:

DEAR SIR: I confirm you the letters I had the honour to write you on the 7th Inst containing \$12.50 which Dr. Daniel Chapin, remitted me as the fifth part of the purchase money on the Town lot 59, which I have granted him. I send you herewith \$6. in 2 *bank notes*, being the fifth part of the purchase money on the Town lot No. 149, which I have granted to Edmund Raymond, this day week.

Mr. Wm Hull, son of Widow Chapman, had apply'd to me for the Town Lot No. 8, rated \$120. and Mr. Elisah Ensign, has likewise apply'd for the Town lot No. 60 rated \$50. E. Barker has also apply'd for the Town lot No. 48, rated \$80. and Asa Chapman, for the Town lot No. 55, rated \$55. have the goodness to inform me whether I may grant them. they paying down the fifth part of the purchase money.

Two meetings have been held in this village, the one at Jos. Landon's Hotel, on Wednesday last, and the other at Widow Chapmans last evening. S. Mabee was set up by the Republicans & E. Barker by the Federals I did not attend either of those meetings, which were very thin. it is my opinion that E. Barker would do

much better to attend to his tavern and ferry & Majr Mabce to his indian trade at Kavawgus than to pretend to represent our County.

I remain most Sincerely, your devoted servant

LOUIS LE COUTEULX.

N. B. In your Statement of the Town and out lots of the Village of New Amsterdam, the Town lot No. 8 is set to Atkins instead of No. 9.

My wiffe presents you her best compliments.

BUFFALO May 20th 1808

JOSEPH ELLICOTT Esq^{re}, Batavia:

DEAR SIR: I refer you to the letters I had the pleasure to write you on the 7th & 15th of last month.

The present is to inform you that Mr. Jabez Goodell has apply'd to me some time ago for the Town lots No. 53, 87 & 88 and for the out lots No. 145 & 136 he wishes to take them in the room of Lot No. 46 which you granted him over the Big Creek, I mean Big Buffalo Creek, last January, he promises to comply with the terms of sale, by paying one fifth of the purchase money as soon as these lots are secured to him. He flatters himself that you will have the goodness to reduce the price of the out lots.

I was attacked on the 10th Inst very severely with the fever & ague, which still hangs on me. I am accordingly feeble and emaciated. I am apprehensive that I shall not be able to attend court at Batavia next June, which will be a great disappointment to me.

I shall be happy to hear that you are well.

I remain most truly your devoted serv't

LOUIS LE COUTEULX.

BUFFALO May 29th 1808.

JOSEPH ELLICOTT, Esq^{re}, Batavia:

DEAR SIR: I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your most esteem'd favor of the 24th Inst.

I have shown Mr. Jabez Goodell that part of your letter which regards him, he told me that he would wait on you in a few days, he appears to be a very clever man, and bears an excellent character in Massachusetts, his native State. his intention is to settle in this Village.

I remitted you on the 15th of last month \$6. in two bank notes, being the fifth part of the purchase money on the town lots No. 149, which I granted to Edmund Raymond on the 8th of said month. I likewise informed you that Wm Hull, son of Widow Chapman, had apply'd to me for the Town lot No. 8, rated \$120. and Elizah Ensign for the Town lot No. 60 rated \$50. E. Barker for the Town lot No. 48 rated \$80. and A. Chapman for the Town lot No. 55 rated \$55. Be so good as to let me know whether I may grant them, they paying down the fifth part of the purchase money, and complying with the terms and conditions of sale.

The fever and ague still hangs on me. I thank you very kindly for the interest you take of my situation. I hope with the help of God I shall soon recover, for it is a wearisome disease that affects both mind and body.

Mr. E. Walden has drawn a Petition *sans peur*, directed to his Excellency D. Tompkins, our Governor, for to have Mr. Smith, a young Lawyer, lately come to this place, and now a boarder of Widow Chapman, appointed a *justice*. I would not sign it, Smith is a Federal. Dr. C. Chapin Grant, E. Raymond & Sam'l Pratt, junior, have sign'd it, *all Federals*. The Petition reminded the Governor of certain things relative to the organization of our new County, &c, &c, &c.

I remain most affectionately, your devoted servt,

LOUIS LE COUTEULX.

My wiffe presents you her best wishes.

My best compliments if you please to your brother & Mr. Stevens, with't forgetting me to Messrs Andrew Ellicott, Evans & Peacock.

BUFFALO June 17th, 1808.

JOSEPH ELLICOTT Esq^{re} Batavia:

DEAR SIR: Your most esteem'd favor of the 4th Inst was duly presented me by Mr. Jabez Goodell, who inform'd me that you had granted him the out lots No. 145 & 136, which I have entered to him.

A. Chapman, Ensign Hull & Elizah Ensign, have called on me for to request me to wait a little while for the payment of their fifth part of the purchase money on the Town lots they have apply'd for. I shall not enter them until they have comply'd with the terms, &c.

Mr. I. Gillett has remitted me on the day of his arrival from Albany, the *Didimus* dated June 4th.

Be so kind as to deliver to Mr. Peacock, the enclosed, I request him to do me the favor to come here for to assist me at *our next Court* on Tuesday the 22nd Inst, if you have no objection.

Thank God, I have escaped four fits of the fever & Ague, the last I had lasted me nearly nine hours with constant castings. I am very much emaciated and remarkably weak.

I remain with unfeigned regard & esteem, Dear Sir,
Your devoted serv't

LOUIS LE COUTEULX.

My wiffe presents you her best compliments and begs to be remembered to all your worthy family.

Since writing the above, Mr. Jabez Goodell has informed me that he has purchased *conditionally* from Elizah Cobb, for a small consideration of \$4. the out lot No. 144, rated \$14 per acre, which I granted him on the 5th day of April last. I observed Mr. Goodell that Cobb had no right to dispose of his lot without having previously paid one fifth of the purchase money and made some im-

provement. I told Mr. Goodell that I thought you would not consent to let him have it, having already two out lots. E. Cobb not complying with the terms and conditions of sale, the lot ought to revert to the Original Proprietors.

Richard Man, to whom you gave three years ago, the out lot No. 34 over *Big Buffalo Creek*, to clear and enclose for \$16. per Acre, has done very little on it. There are about six acres more to log. The whole ten acres wants farming. Mr. Lake is very apprehensive that he will not be able to raise corn, or any thing, on that piece of Land. Mr. Man instead of Logging and enclosing the whole of it, is now engaged making bricks. I have told him over and over that if he did not comply with his contract, that certainly you would not pay him any more money & furthermore that you would prosecute him for damages, &c. &c. his cattle which he turns over the creek every night have already destroyed part of the corn that Mr. Lake had planted.

Yours,

LS. LE COUTEULX.

BUFFALO July 13, 1808

JOSEPH ELLICOTT Esq^{re}, Batavia

DEAR SIR: Your most esteem'd favors of the 2d & 8th of this month, are before me. I bear in mind that the Town Lots you have described in your first letter, are not to be disposed of for the present.

Your second letter conveys me a Deed, which it is not in my power *at present* to record, the Books for our County having not *as yet* arrived from New York. Mr. Stevens has had the politeness to inform me that He thought they were on the way and would be here probably in the course of this month. as soon as they come to hand I shall record it and forward it to you by a safe opportunity.

I remain with much esteem, Dr Sir

Your devoted serv't,

LOUIS LE COUTEULX.

CLARENCE, March 14th, 1809.

JOSEPH ELLICOTT Esq^{re}, Batavia:

DEAR SIR: I have before me your most esteem'd favor of the 21st Ult. according to your desire, I have entered on the *21st of february last* to Widow Chapman the Inner Lot No. 53 rated \$55. on which she has a well and a Kitchen Cellar dug up, and the timber ready for framing.

I have granted to Col. Ely Parson the Inner lot No. 55, he intends to come here next may or June, at which time he will make a payment. Mrs. E. Walden has apply'd to me this morning for the out lot No. 133 rated \$12 p Acre and the out Lot No. 114, rated \$15. per Acre. be so kind as to inform me whether he may have them. You have promised me *at yr leisure* to let me know the lowest prices of the Out lots.

My wiffe presents you her best compliments. Be so good as to present mine to messieurs Stevens, Peacock, Evans & Brisban. Also to Mrs. Ellicott.

Your devoted serv't

LOUIS LE COUTEULX.

N. B. Mr. E. Walden wishes the above Lots for the purpose of having his fire wood handy.

[The Mrs. Ellicott mentioned above was probably sister-in-law of Joseph Ellicott, who was a bachelor.]

CLARENCE April 14th 1809.

JOSEPH ELLICOTT, Esq^{re}, Batavia :

DEAR SIR: I had the pleasure to write you on the 14th of last month by Mr. David Edy. I informed you that according to your desire I had granted to Widow Chapman, the Town Lot No. 53 rated \$55. and entered it to her in my book on the 21st day of February last, *datae of your letter*. I likewise informed you that I had granted to Col. Ely Parson, the Town Lot No. 55 rated \$55. and observed you that Mr. Ebenezer Walden had apply'd for the out lots Nos. 113, rated \$12 per Acre, and out Lot No. 114 rated \$15. per Acre. he flatters himself that you will grant them to him, his object is to have his firewood handy. I have granted and entered to *Marmeduk Wells*, brother to Joseph Wells the Brickmaker, the out Lot No. 141, rated \$17 per Acre. I have also granted to Stephen Kellick, the Town lot No. 76, rated \$35. That lot was entered to Timothy Strong, who has relinquished it. I have granted likewise to *Gilman Folsom*, Butcher, the Town lot No. 75, rated \$35.—Mr. Philo Andrews has apply'd for the Town lot No. 37, rated \$120. granted at *your office* to Seymour Woodruff, who, I am told has relinquished it. Be so kind as to inform me whether He may have it. He has already two Town lots which he says He would give up if he could get this one.

Peter Lake and William Robbin have apply'd for the Town Lots Nos. 86 & 87, rated \$25 Each; these Lots as well as many others you have directed me *last year* not to dispose of not knowing precisely where you would build them Goal. I told them that I would write you on the subject, and let them know your Answer. Mr. Vincent Grave has apply'd for the out lots Nos. 43 \$24 44 \$23 45 \$22 and 46 \$21 over Big Buffalo Creek. He tells me that he spoke to you concerning them when you was here last February, and that you told him he might have them. He intends to pay you in the course of this spring one half of the purchase money and the remainder in the fall.

I have requested you to give me the lowest prices of the Out Lots, having sold a great many, I would make it my business to call on the Purchasors for the *purchase money*, agreeably to the terms and conditions of sale.

I have the honour to be with real esteem & Regard, Dear Sir,

Your devoted serv't, LOUIS LE COUTEULX.

My wiffe desires me to present you her compliments. have the goodness to present mine to your Brother and Nephew, & to Messrs Stephens, Evans, Peacock & Brisban[e].

MEMOIR OF

CLARENCE, April 21, 1809.

JOSEPH ELLICOTT Esq^{re}, Batavia:

DEAR SIR: I refer you to the letters I had the pleasure to write you on the 14th of last month and 14th Inst, the object of this, is to inform you that Mr. McConnell, purchaser of Mr. S. Mabee's property in this Village has requested me to drop you a few Lines, for to ask you whether you would be willing to hire Him your Ten Acres field, your mainsion House spot excepted and the price per Acre. have the goodness to let me know your determination on the subject. Henry Lake has mended the fences round y'r meadows, and has added 500 rails which were wanting.

I have bargained with old Christian Staley' son, for to grub up the Court House plot, containing three Acres, for twenty dollars. I shall from time to time inspect his work, the old man *who is a good hand at grubbing*, will help his son.

I have granted and entered on the 20th of March last, to Michael Staly (the young man who has undertook to grub up the Court House plot) the out lot No. 30, rated \$13. per Acre. I have likewise granted and entered on the 14th of this month to Samuel Pratt Junior, the out lot No. 29, rated \$15 per Acre. I have also granted and entered to Otis R. Hopkins, *our Under Sheriff*, on the 18th Ins't, the Town lot No. 54, rated \$50. The Town Lot No. 55, rated \$55. which I have granted to Col. Ely Parson, was on the 21st of February last.

I will be happy to hear from you soon, in the mean while Believe me with real Esteem, your devoted serv't,

LOUIS LE COUTEULX.

My wiffe presents you her best compliments.

CLARENCE August 26th 1809

JOSEPH ELLICOTT, Esq^{re}, Batavia:

DEAR SIR: I have the pleasure to congratulate you on your safe arrival in the bosom of your worthy family.

For want of an opportunity for Chattagqua, I have forwarded *by mail* to Mr. Wm. Peacock, the letter you left with me For Him.

The last time you honoured Clarence with your presence, you had the generosity to offer \$40. towards improving the new Road, leading to Black Rock I have accordingly directed Mr. Jos. Landon to let Adams & Davis, who had work'd on it to turnpike the lower-end, which in my opinion was the very worst part of the Road, to the above amount, which they did in a masterly way, that is, they have cut out 53 Rods of ditching between 3 & 4 feet in breadth and from 12 to 18 inches in depth on each side of the Road, which they have made *full 16½ feet in width*. they have filled the inside of said Road with plenty of Brushes and covered them thick with dirt, so that a carriage may travel over it with safety. I went this afternoon to inspect the work, you would be pleased to see it. the Citizens of Buffalo were no sooner apprised of your kind offer than they cheerfully subscribed \$25. more.

Mr. Marmeduc Wells will be the bearer of this letter. you will be so good as to interest him with the sum above mentioned and believe me with real esteem and regard, Dear Sir,
Your devoted serv't,

LOUIS LE COUTEULX.

My wiffe desires to be remembered to you. she presents you her compliments and flatters herself that you will shortly visit us again.

CLARENCE, Sepber 15th, 1809

JOSEPH ELLICOTT Esq^{re}, Batavia:

DEAR SIR: Mr. Brown has delivered to me on Saturday last, *in good order*, your Trunk, Baskets, Bottles, Jugs &c. you carried to Chauttaughque, I have requested Mr. Osma's (the mail carrier) to remit you on his arrival at your Place, your said Trunk and the Key which I sent you sealed up in a paper. I have taken the liberty to put in your Trunk, a pair of Leggings and stockings, belonging to Mr. Peacock.

I have been invited this morning to the raising of our Court House, it will require sixty hands for to raise it up. I expect it will make a conspicuous show.

I have heard with much pleasure by Mr. Cuppee[?] that you was well, may the Great Architect of the Universe preserve you great many years, is the sincere wish of your devoted serv't

LOUIS LE COUTEULX.

My wiffe begs to be remembered to you and the rest of your worthy family. Present if you please my best compliments to your Brother and Nephew & Messrs Stevens, Peacock & Evans.

BUFFALO Nov. 8th 1809

JOSEPH ELLICOTT Esq^{re}, Batavia:

DEAR SIR: I beg your pardon For having diffared so long in answering your most kind Favor of the 19th of Sepber last, in which you invited my wiffe to visit your Family. She would have accepted your polite invitation with chearfulness had she had *at that time* a Girl to whom she could leave the care of the House. as she has got a clever young woman at present, she flatters herself that she will be able to pay your worthy Family a visit in *Slaying* time; in the Interim, she prays you to accept her best wishes.

According to your desire I have pasted up at the Inns and Stores of this Village, the Hand bills you have sent me.

I have granted to Mr. Lot Hull, on the 9th of June last, the Town lot No. 117, rated \$40. on which he has paid me at that time \$8. For his Fifth. he wishes an Article, which you'll have the goodness to give Him. on his return From Batavia He intends to clear his Town lot.

I have paid on the 2d Inst to Joseph Adams \$10. Specie on account of his clearing & chopping *Wollenhavens' Avenue* I have

measured it with my chain, *Him and my man present*, and Found 102 Rods in length From post to post, that is, From East to West, and 6 Rods in width, which makes 3 Acres & 314 & 12 rods over at \$10 per Acre. he has clear'd & burnt up all the brushes & Logs, so that the Avenue is entirely Free of all Incumbrance (Stumps excepted). Adams has received in the whole \$25. There is still a ballance due to him of \$12.50.

I remain with much Esteem & regard Dear Sir,

Your devoted servant

LOUIS LE COUTEULX.

Be so kind as to present my respects to your neice & Mrs. Stevens & my compliments to your Brother, Nephew & Messrs Stevens, Peacock and Evans.

N. B. the Pollander goes on very well with ditching.

BUFFALO Novem. 10th 1809.

JOSEPH ELLICOTT Esq^{re}, Batavia:

DEAR SIR: I had the pleasure to write you on Wednesday last, by Mr. Lot Hull.

I take the liberty to drop you a Few lines For to request you to grant to Mr. Elisha Ensign, an Article For the Town Lot No. 60, rated \$50. which I sold him on the 4th of June 1808, and on which He has paid me *at the time* \$10. For his Fifth.

I remain with real Esteem & respect, Dear Sir,

Your devoted servant

LOUIS LE COUTEULX.

P. S. Be so good as to present my respects to your nieces & my compliments to your Brother, nephew & Messrs Stevens, Peacock & Evans.

BUFFALO April 19th 1810.

JAMES W. STEVENS Esq^{re}, Batavia:

DEAR SIR: Your most Esteem'd Favour under date of the 16th Inst was presented to me by Mr. Philo Andrews, Should the commissions of our Successors in Office not arrive before the period we are to return a Statement of votes to Albany. I shall if my health permit, and God willing, carry the Statement myself, and start immediately after the eight days in which the returns of the Inspectors of Election are to be made, and I will do myself the pleasure to take your report.

I remain with real Esteem and Regard, Dear Sir,

Your most obed servt

LOUIS LE COUTEULX.

My wiffe joins me in respectful compliments to your Lady, and your worthy mother, please to present my best compliments to Messrs Ellicott, Peacock & Evans.

BUFFALO June the 8th, 1810.

JOSEPH ELLICOTT Esq're, Batavia:

DEAR SIR: I hope the Present will find you well. I have directed the Stage Driver to deliver you immediately on his arrival at your Place, a Box containing a Maskinange and Pickrel, which were caught in our Lake at 10 o'Clock this morning. I hope they will reach you in good order.

I Flatter myself of the pleasure of possessing you soon. In the Interim, I remain with esteem Dear Sir,

Your devoted servt,

LOUIS LE COUTEULX.

My wiffe desires me to present you her best compliments. Be so good as to present mine to your Brother and Nephew and to Messrs Peacock, Stevens & Evans.

BUFFALO June 15th, 1810.

BENJN ELLICOTT Esqre, Batavia:

DEAR SIR: I take the liberty to inform you that I have contracted with Solomon Sutherland, at \$18. per acre, For cleaning, chopping, heaping and burning the Logs and brush on your out-Lots Nos. 2, 3 & 5, likewise He is to grub up every Alder, willows, bushes, &c &c where ever they are to be Found on your wet Land or marsh. —The conditions I have made with Him, are these. He is to clear your Lot No. 2 by the 15th day of October next and the Lots Nos. 3 & 5 by the 15th day of November Following, provided, that the weather will permit. For if it was too wet He could not work to any advantage For You, nor For Himself. I shall From time to time inspect his work, as soon as my situation will permit. I have insisted that He shall receive in *Land payment* \$180. and the residue in *cash*. —He is to draw on you occasionally For money For to defray his expenses while he is clearing up your aforesaid Lots. Him and I have signed the agreement in the presence of Jonas Williams, Esq., who did sign as a witness.

I remain with real Esteem, Dear Sir

Your most obedit servt

LOUIS LE COUTEULX.

BUFFALO July 20th, 1810.

BENJAMIN ELLICOTT Esq're, Batavia:

DEAR SIR: I had the honour to write you on the 15th of last month, For to inform you of the contract I had made with Solomon Sutherland For to clear, chop, grub, heap and burn up all the Logs and Bushes on your out Lots Nos. 2, 3, & 5. I have been all over them a Few days ago and find that He, and the two Pennsylvanians Whom He had hired have grubbed in a neat manner about 10 Acres of your low land. I make them grub all the Alders, Willows and Rose Bushes & I shall From time to time inspect their work and see that they do you Justice.

Solomon Sutherland has requested me to draw on you in *his Favour* For *thirty dollars* (on account of his work) which I beg you'll have the goodness to send me by *next mail*, as he has to advance money to his men For to buy their provisions and has to pay For his board, he has purchased on my acct one barrel of Flour.

I shall be happy to hear that Mrs. Ellicott and Mrs. Stevens are arrived safe at Batavia.

I remain with real Esteem Dear Sir

Your most obed^t serv^t

LOUIS LE COUTEULX

I pray you to present my best compliments to your Brother and Nephew & to Messrs Peacock, Stevens & Evans.

N. B. Philo Andrews & Lewis the Taylor had each a Frame *two storey high* raised this morning.

BUFFALO Jan'y 18th, 1811.

JOSEPH ELLICOTT Esq're Batavia:

DEAR SIR: In answer to your most esteem'd Favour of the 15th Ins't I will inform you that Dr Johnson left this village For Cazenovia *his Father's Residence* last Wednesday morning previous to the arrival of the Eastern mail.

I shall Keep at your disposal the *Iron Chest* For which I request you to place to my Credit *sixty Five dollars*, being the amount of the purchase and transportation of the same From New York to this Place.

I recommend myself to your Friendship and entreat you to have the kindness to write to our worthy Governor, in my Behalf, For to procure me my *Former birth* in so doing you will confer a very great Favour on

Dear Sir,

Your devoted & affectionate serv^t

LOUIS LE COUTEULX

My wiffe presents you her best compliments. Be so good as to offer mine to your Brother & nephew & to Messrs Stevens & Evans

BUFFALO July 18th, 1811.

BENJAMIN ELLICOTT Esq're, Batavia:

DEAR SIR: Solomon Sutherland called on me this morning For to inform me that he had Finished your *three out Lots* and wished me to examine them which I accordingly did this afternoon, having walked over them in every direction, and Find them compleatly cleared of every incumbrances what so ever. Permit me to remind you that my men in clearing my out Lot No. 1 did grub one Acre of

your Land, thinking it was mine, which you'll have the goodness to give me credit For.

I remain with real esteem Dear Sir

Your most obed't serv't

LOUIS LE COUTEULX

Be so kind as to give my compliments to your Brother & to Messrs And. Ellicott, Stevens & Evans, and my respects to your nieces & Mrs. Stevens, mother & daughter in law.

BUFFALO September 6, 1812

JOSEPH EL LICOTT Esq're, Batavia:

DEAR SIR: Permit me to drop you a few lines For to request you to receive in your House For *safe keeping*, a Trunk containing all the Books and records of our county, not knowing how soon we may be attacked by the British, as they have been notified that on tuesday at midday, the suspension of arms ceases.

I remain with real esteem, Dear Sir,

Your devoted servant

LOUIS LE COUTEULX

BUFFALO September 17th, 1812.

JOSEPH EL LICOTT Esq're, Batavia:

DEAR SIR: On the 6th ins't I took the liberty to address you a Few lines For to request you to receive in your house For *Safety* a Trunk containing the Books and records of our County, being at that time apprehensive of an attack From the British and their Sattalites the Indians. Some of our Lawyers having intimated to me that they could not attend to the concerns of their Clients without having access to their Writs, and other papers, I now request you, Dear Sir, when Joseph Landon's stage Driver calls For said Trunk, to have the goodness to see it delivered to him, in so doing you will oblige, very particularly

Your devoted servant

LOUIS LE COUTEULX.

General Hall and his Aid de Camp Wm Howe Cuyler[?] have Fixed their Head Quarters at this Place.

I have received a letter from a Friend at *Erie* which informs me that the Governor of Pennsylvania had given orders For 2000 men to march and *rendezvous* at *Meadville* on the 25th ins't destined For this Place. they are as Fine Fellows as ever went into an Army. they are all volunteers, in compleat uniforms, and good discipline, most of them Lawyers, merchants, and Spirited young Fellows. he likewise mentioned that there are at *Erie* 800 men under arms, ready to give a warm reception of cold lead to the British and their Allies the savages in case they should attempt to land. he also mentions that the State of Ohio was full of men under arms ready to march for to exterminate the Indians and retake Detroit and march to Fort Malden this Fall.

PAUL BUSTI TO JOSEPH ELLICOTT.

PHILADELPHIA 6th June 1816

JOSEPH ELLICOTT Esqre, Batavia:

Mr. LeCouteulx came down from Albany to see his old acquaintances in this city and paid me the visit I made to him at Buffalo in 1805. I thought he was still a resident of that village, but by his narrative of the misfortunes he met with I was soon convinced of the error I was resting in. You'll easily suppose that the variance at which he seems to be with you about some of the lots he held under the Article of agreement granted to him in November 1806 has been the most and even the only interesting part of the conversation I had with him which ended in pressing a request upon me to write to you in his favor. Before accepting the office of Interpositor, I desired him to state in writing the summary of his petition. He drew a pretty long memoir by which it appears, that you refuse to renew the Article for 3 of them lots viz. N 1 32 & 33, alledging as a reason for the refusal *his want of complying with the conditions*. Such an allegation, however founded upon the strictness of facts, I am however almost sure, cannot be the sole motive upon which you ground your refusal. Your wonted indulgence towards the generality of dealers would not fail to act upon your mind in favor of one of the oldest Inhabitants of the Village, who has had the misfortune of having his house and goods destroyed almost at the very time, that in Dber 1813 he called at the Office to pay and settle the debt. I rather incline to think that Mr. LeCouteulx actuated by fear of seeing his Article forfeited has not made his application for the renewal of the Article in a proper manner, and that from this cause some misunderstanding arose between you and him.

I am confirmed in the opinion from the circumstance, that after searching into the accounts & Tables of your Administration, not the least discovery will be made indicating the forfeiture of them three lots, forming jointly with lots 4 & 83 one single Article of Nber 1806.

I am anxious to hear from you in what situation M. LeCouteulx's Art & Contract with you about them Lots N 1, 32 & 33 really stand. Supposed even that on the part of that Gentleman there should be *evident delinquencies*. I believe that his case is entitled to indulgence on our part, for without entering into the credit side of his personal merits, the old date of residency, and the exertions he made in procuring to himself Neighbours, the sole consideration of his losses by the burning of the village and the considerable expences at which he has been for draining & enclosing Lot N 1, plead in his favor. There might exist some other wrongs on M. LeCouteulx's side. Your explanation of the transaction will, I doubt not, apprise me thereof. But still I should be glad to see them overlooked on your part. Let us grant him his request of renewing to him the Article for the three Lots N. 1, 32 & 33 on the condition and price of the

former of 1806. The kindness wherewith he received us in 1805 at Buffalo must not go unrewarded. One of the horses that carried me there lives still. Could the animal speak, he would have perorated Mr. LeCouteulx's cause, for without the hay generously presented by that french Gentleman, poor Jack would have had reason bitterly to complain of his visit to Buffalo. I remain as usually

Your most ob serv't

PAUL BUSTI.

PHILAD 3rd July 1816

JOSEPH ELLICOTT Esq're, Batavia:

DEAR SIR: Long as your esteemed favor of the 21 June is it affords however but little material for an answer. The detail of what had taken place in your transactions with Mr. LeCouteulx has brought upon me the full conviction that his claim upon our liberality have no other foundation than the wish of extending its limits farther and farther. I had some suspicion that such would have been the fact. It was therefore that abstaining from making any promise I told Mr. LeC your information would be my guide in his application. Consistently with such intimation I wrote him yesterday that I declined acting as mediator for as a local knowledge of the lots granted and retained would only qualify me to judge pertinently of the matter in question, I could not assume the task of deciding. I informed him that if he could persuade you of any harshness in the last settlement made between you and him you were ready to do him justice, and that if the matter were to be left to the opinion of referrees you were not fearing that their decision would run against you. I expect we will hear no more of his claim.

PAUL BUSTI.



LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG ADDRESS.

MEMORIAL TABLET BEQUEATHED TO THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY BY
MISS M. LOUISE WILKERSON.

APPENDIX A

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FORTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The forty-fourth annual meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society was held at the Historical Building on the evening of Jan. 9, 1906. President Langdon presided, some 400 members being present. Following the reading of the minutes of the forty-third annual meeting, by the Secretary, President Langdon addressed the society, as follows:

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Members of the Buffalo Historical Society, Ladies and Gentlemen:

In welcoming you tonight to this, the forty-fourth annual meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society, my first feeling is that there is little need of any word from me, or from any of us. The work of the institution surely speaks for itself.

Then, as I look back over the years; as I recall the honored place the society has held in this community for well nigh half a century; especially as I recall the men and women who have constituted this society, and see how truly they have been representative of what is public-spirited, unselfish, cultured and noble in our history—then am I moved by a warrantable pride to dwell for a few minutes on some phases of our work—on some of the things we are doing, or seek to do, to continue the worthy achievements of those who have gone before.

The prayer of Agur, "Give me neither poverty nor riches," in a way expresses our situation as to financial resources. Far from rich, we are guaranteed a maintenance for our building. But this building needs large and immediate outlay, for repairs, completion

and betterment. You will recall the circumstances of its construction, in connection with the Pan-American Exposition. But some of you may not know that it has never been finished. Unfinished rooms in the basement should be completed and put at the service of the public. The additional room is greatly needed. The building is now nearly six years old. A costly edifice of this character calls for great care and constant outlay to keep it from deteriorating. We know that Buffalo has a pride in this building, and a just sense of proprietorship. No institution not avowedly municipal was ever placed so freely at the use of the community, of all who can use it aright; and I feel that I am warranted tonight—I will put it more strongly: I feel that it is my duty, to urge upon the City of Buffalo, through its official channels, to take prompt steps for putting this building in condition to withstand the elements, and to continue a thing of beauty and of pride, for many years to come.

Our modest income from other sources is practically all devoted to the benefit of the members themselves; to additions to our library, and to the work of publication. If this income were greater we could of course do more; and to increase it, we seek more members.

Our list of Life members, owing to the never-ceasing activity of Death, is but one longer than it was a year ago. It should be much longer. Life membership dues are \$100, and entitle the member and his family to all the privileges of the institution during his lifetime. It is proper to state here that the receipts from Life membership go into a permanent fund, the principal of which cannot be expended. This little fund is our only substitute for the endowment which an institution of this character should have.

The Buffalo Historical Society is a fit and worthy recipient of bequests. Much of its present efficiency is due to the forethought and public spirit which Buffaloesians have shown in making their wills. A bequest for a specific purpose, such as the carrying on of historical research in the Governmental and other depositories of original manuscript records, in Albany, Washington, Ottawa, London and Paris; or for the establishment of a Publication Fund, would be a monument to the giver, and a source of perpetual profit to the students of history in future generations.

The full list of losses by death from our membership during the past year will no doubt be given to you by the secretary; it will be a new reminder of what we note at the close of every year—of the passing of men and women who have been so long prominent in the worthy activities of our city that to those of us who have known them well and worked with them it is difficult to believe that their places can be filled. Of those who have gone during the year were: Pascal P. Pratt, one of the original founders of our society; Mrs. J. I. Prentiss and William H. Cottier, both generous givers to our collections. We have a permanent memorial of Mrs. Prentiss in the superb set of Shakespere engravings, known as the Boydell prints; while our Indian Museum was greatly enriched by Mr. Cottier. I need only to name such public-spirited citizens, men prominent in the business and professional life of Buffalo, as Hon. Charles F. Dunbar, C. J. Hamlin, Hon. John Laughlin, James E. Ford, Dr. D. W. Harrington, William Hengerer and F. C. M.

Lautz, to remind you how great have been the losses which this society has shared with the community as a whole, during the year just passed.

Death is always busy among our members. To carry on the work, to make effective the efforts of this institution, there must always be new recruits. The Historical Society is not merely—as may perhaps be sometimes imagined—for the elderly, or those long identified with Buffalo. It is for the young as well as for those of ripe years. I urge upon every person here, to exert himself to the extent of adding at least one new member to our ranks during the ensuing year. The annual dues are not large—only five dollars—and they are returned to every member in full value, in the Publications and entertainments.

In my remarks at the annual meeting a year ago. I dwelt at some length on the unique character of our library, and the desire of the society to increase it along certain lines, especially in the literature relating to the history of Western New York and adjoining regions. I also referred to the important additions which had been made to it from the large private collection of Mr. Frank H. Severance, and recommended that further additions be made to it, from that source. I now repeat that suggestion. A small collection of books, for the most part rare, relating to various phases of our local history, was added during the year past; but our purchases were few. The exceptional opportunity of securing a valuable collection, which it has taken many years to bring together, should not be lost. It is our aim to form here the most complete library in existence, of books, pamphlets and manuscripts, relating to this part of the country. In some departments the library of the Buffalo Historical Society already enjoys that distinction. The value of these collections increases rapidly as the years pass. It should be remembered that the library of this institution is free of access to all, under the necessary restrictions for a library of this character.

I leave it for the reports of others, to dwell on various phases of our work which are more or less familiar to the public. I do not need to call attention to the popularity of our Sunday afternoon meetings, for their renown has long since gone abroad throughout Buffalo, and their success is assured. Do you ask, Of what advantage is it to the society to do so much for the public at large? I reply, We recognize our obligation to the public—and in seeking to discharge that obligation, we make friends. The one great asset of the Buffalo Historical Society today, is the cordial feeling entertained for it by the community of Buffalo as a whole.

We have been able to make the institution of some use to the teachers and pupils of the city schools. We wish all who are engaged in teaching in Buffalo, whether in public, private or parochial schools, clearly to understand that if we have anything here, in library or museum, which will assist them in their work, or be helpful to their pupils, they are one and all cordially invited to come and make use of these facilities.

In a word, the Buffalo Historical Society seeks to justify its existence in the community by being useful in as many ways, and to as many people, as possible.

The President's address evidently received the cordial approval of the audience, for the applause was hearty.

The annual reports of the treasurer, Mr. Charles J. North, and of the secretary, Mr. Frank H. Severance, were read and approved.

On motion of Prof. Horace Briggs, Messrs. Henry W. Hill, Henry R. Howland, J. N. Larned, J. J. McWilliams and Charles R. Wilson, whose terms as members of the board of managers had expired, were re-elected for a term of four years, their new terms expiring January, 1910. No other nominations were made, and the vote appeared to be unanimous.

The business meeting adjourned, and the audience listened to an illustrated lecture on "Old New York," by Mr. Loran L. Lewis, Jr.

ANNUAL ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

Pursuant to statute, a meeting of the Board of Managers was held for the election of officers, Jan. 11, 1906, being the first Thursday following the annual meeting. The board met at 4 p. m., at the office of R. W. Day, 650 Ellicott Square. Present, Messrs. Bennett, Briggs, Day, Langdon, Larned, Letchworth, McWilliams, Mathews, Richmond, Severance, Stringer, Sweeney, Wilson. Mr. Bennett was called to the chair.

The minutes of the last annual meeting, Jan. 12, 1905, were read and approved. The secretary read the by-law under which the board elects its officers. The chairman announced that an informal ballot would be taken for president. Mr. Richmond put in nomination, Andrew Langdon, speaking at length on the valuable services Mr. Langdon has rendered the society. Mr. Larned seconded the nomination. The ballot stood: Blank one, Mr. Langdon 12. He was declared unanimously elected.

Hon. Henry W. Hill was unanimously re-elected vice-president.

On motion of Dr. Briggs, the secretary was instructed to cast a vote for the whole Board for Frank H. Severance for secretary, and for Chas. J. North for treasurer.

On motion of Mr. Wilson it was voted that the Marine National Bank and Commonwealth Trust Co. be the depositories of the society's funds until further action.

On motion of Mr. Letchworth, seconded by Mr. Richmond, it was voted that a bond for \$10,000 be taken for the treasurer.

Adjourned.

FRANK H. SEVERANCE, *Secretary.*

THE SECRETARY'S REPORT.

The following report of the secretary was made at the annual meeting, Jan. 9, 1906:

Under the by-laws of this institution the secretary is required to make, in behalf of the board of managers, on the second Tuesday of January of each year, a report to the members of the society, on the work of the year just closed. In presenting this report tonight, I shall touch briefly on the principal phases of the year's work, leaving the fuller report for the annual publication to be issued as early as possible in the present year.

Building. This property on the whole is in better shape than it was a year ago. It is maintained, as you know, by an annual appropriation mandatory on the city. Our request for a modest amount to make necessary repairs and to complete much-needed rooms in the basement was cut out from last year's appropriation by his Honor the Mayor. Whenever the funds are available, the repair work should be promptly undertaken. Much of the marble on the abutments, platforms and walls around the south steps should be reset, and the whole construction made as impervious to water as possible. Cement baseboards and casings in the basements, which are rapidly disintegrating, should be replaced by an enduring material. The large unfinished west room in the basement should be finished and placed at the service of the public. It is desired to use it as a store-room for newspaper files, of which we have many hundred volumes, not now properly cared for, for lack of suitable room.

Further roof repairs have been made during the year; the two flag-poles have been removed from the roof, because rotting and tending to cause leaks. The roof-gutters, the water-spouts and drains have been overhauled, cleaned and repaired.

The suitable decoration of the ceilings above the middle court and upper museums, should receive the attention of your board, as soon as they are satisfied that there is no further danger of injury from leaks.

Membership. The total membership of the society is 774, divided as follows: Patron, 1; honorary, 8; life, 133; corresponding, 132; resident (or annual), 501. We have lost during the year, by death, six life members, four resident members, and four corresponding members. There have been added during the year, one honorary member, one corresponding member, seven life members, and seventy resident members, the net gain being somewhat less than that, owing to death, removal and resignation. A few names have been dropped for non-payment of dues; and a careful revision of the list of corresponding members resulted in the elimination of a score or more of names. The active membership of the society is considerably greater than ever before, but its further increase is greatly desired, not only to increase the working efficiency of the institution, but to make it as largely as possible, a society of the People of Buffalo.

The losses of the society by death during the year are as follows:

Jan.	13.	William H. Cottier, life member.
Feb.	20.	Cicero J. Hamlin, life member.
April	30.	Charles F. Dunbar, resident member.
May	15.	Mrs. J. I. Prentiss, life member.
June	18.	Pascal P. Pratt, life member.
June	22.	Gen. Charles W. Darling of Utica, corresponding member.
July	20.	Hon. George Barker, Fredonia, corresponding member.
Aug.	4.	Hon. John Laughlin, annual member.
Sept.	6.	James E. Ford, resident member.
Sept.	24.	Major W. H. Hodgkins, Somerville, Mass., corresponding member.
Nov.	17.	Warren Jackman, Ransomville, corresponding member.
Nov.	20.	Dr. D. W. Harrington, resident member.
Dec.	3.	William Hengerer, life member.
Dec.	22.	F. C. M. Lautz, life member.

Museums. The additions to our museums and portrait galleries have perhaps been less notable than in some former years, but still many articles have been received of artistic and historic value. The most notable single gift of the year was the bronze wall tablet containing Lincoln's memorable Gettysburg address, which was bequeathed to the Historical Society by Miss M. Louise Wilkeson, with marble bas reliefs of Lincoln, and of Mr. and Mrs. William Wilkeson. The tablet has been set in the wall of the middle court, facing the statue of Lincoln. Other interesting and valued gifts of the year include: the sword presented to Major D. D. Bidwell, by members of D Co., of Buffalo, in 1857; given to the society by Gen. Bidwell's daughter, Mrs. S. B. Gunnison of Washington. Also, the dress sword presented to Lieut.-Col. Nathan Towson, by citizens of the village of Buffalo, "for his uniform gallant conduct in the defense of the Niagara frontier, A. D., 1814." This sword was recently procured from Gen. Towson's heirs, and presented to the society by President Langdon. Among other gifts of value or special interest are a collection of U. S. coins and early paper money, from Mr. Carlton R. Perrine; and choice steel engravings, "The Landing of the Pilgrims" and "The Departure of the Pilgrims," from Mr. Lewis J. Bennett. Framed portraits have been received: of the Rev. Wm. I. Reese, from Mrs. Jas. Reid; of Barton Atkins, from Mrs. McLeod; of Bradley D. Rogers, from Mrs. D. Clark Ralph; of the Rev. Grosvenor W. Heacock, from Mrs. H. C. Cary; of Wm. Bullymore, from Mrs. Olive G. Newton; of Dr. Thos. F. Rochester, from Mrs. Chas. B. Wheeler; and of Guilford R. Wilson, from Mr. Walter T. Wilson. Also a bust of the Rev. Dr. Wm. Waith, from Mrs. John C. Graves, and a bust of Dr. Julius Miner, from the Messrs. Norton. Besides these are many minor gifts, a full list of which is kept in the records of the society.

To meet the growth of the museum, seven new table cases have been made, during the year. Some of these are now devoted to a

loan collection of articles from the Philippines, kindly placed in our custody by Gen. Wm. Auman.

Library. By purchase, exchange and gift, the number of catalogued volumes in our library has advanced from 14,929 to 15,686. Of this accession of 757 volumes, 54 were purchased and the rest received either in gift or through exchange with other institutions. Our own publications, and duplicates, have been offered to other libraries and societies, and any worthy work on American history solicited in trade. In this way we have gathered several hundred good books, especially town and county histories, and genealogies. The books purchased relate chiefly to the early history of lake traffic, to railroad and canal construction in Western New York. There was also bought a small but valuable collection of pamphlet material, relating to the utilization of Niagara power, electrical transmission of power, and other phases of the industrial development of the Niagara frontier.

Books have been received as gifts from Miss Sophie C. Becker, Andrew Langdon, Dr. A. H. Briggs, Mrs. H. N. Haven, George B. Montgomery, Mrs. D. G. Cox, George L. Squier, Mrs. Wm. Rice, R. J. Conover, the Misses Mary and Emma Lovejoy, the J. N. Adam Co., the Matthews-Northrup Co., Hon. George W. Clinton, Westminster House through Miss Emily S. Holmes, Chas. J. North, J. N. Larned, E. H. Butler, Simon Fleischmann, Dr. A. A. Hubbell, Hon. Wm. P. Letchworth, John Lord O'Brien, S. S. Spaulding, Mrs. Robt. Bethune, Dr. A. L. Benedict, R. N. Barrows, F. H. Severance, Wm. H. Samson of Rochester, C. Ellis Stevens of Brooklyn, Mrs. R. T. Armstrong of Marksboro, N. Y.

While miscellaneous gifts are welcomed, the systematic development of our library must be accomplished by purchase. It should be the best collection in existence of historical and descriptive literature, not only of Buffalo and Western New York, but of the upper St. Lawrence valley and the Lower Lakes. Some phases of our regional history are now well covered, notably the War of 1812, the Upper Canada Rebellion of 1837-38, the construction and political history of the Erie Canal, and some other topics. The descriptive literature contained in the books of travelers who have visited and written of the Niagara region since the close of the 18th century, is also contained in an exceptionally full collection of several hundred volumes. But on other equally important subjects relating to our local history, such as the French and British periods of occupancy, Indian treaties, land sales, captivities, etc., we are very deficient.

The society has no endowment for either library or publication purposes. Had it such a fund, which could be counted on as a permanent guarantee for activities in these lines of work, our usefulness in the community would be greatly increased.

It should not be overlooked that the library of the Historical Society, and the John C. Lord library, of which this society is custodian, are for the free use of the public, on any day except Sunday. We desire to see their use increased.

Publications. In September, 1905, we issued Vol. VIII of the series of Publications, just ten months after the appearance of Vol.

VII. Vol. IX is now in preparation, and it is expected will be issued early enough this year so that our members will have received three volumes within the space of two years. These recent volumes are given to our members, sent in exchange to many institutions, and sold to non-members and to non-exchanging societies and libraries. Judging from the steadily growing demand for them, the efforts of the society in this direction are not wasted.

The opportunities of the society, in the matter of historical publication, are practically limitless, if the society chooses to devote time and money to it. There is a great field for historical research, in matters relating to the early history of this region, as yet practically untouched. The Buffalo Historical Society cannot only win distinction for itself, but render a high service to students of American history, by engaging in research, in Government depositories, both in this country and abroad, for data relating to the early history of this region, especially under French and British control. The society's best field of endeavor, in publication work, is obviously not merely the purely local annals and records—though their value is not to be overlooked—but in the broader aspect of our regional history, which shows its relation to the general course of the development of our country and the history of our times.

Varied Activities. During the year past the Sunday afternoon lectures and musicals have been continued, except during the mid-summer season. They have maintained their popularity, on many occasions, even in inclement weather, the lecture-room proving far too small for the numbers seeking admission. The society is deeply appreciative of the helpful spirit shown by the many citizens, who, by giving their time and talent to these meetings, have made them a pleasant and helpful institution. Acknowledgment is made, for help in this work, by way of addresses, to Mr. Louis Stockton, president of the Referendum League, Dr. Roswell Park, Mr. J. N. Larned, Hon. Henry W. Hill, Dr. M. D. Mann, Prof. Irving P. Bishop, Hon. Harlan J. Swift, Dr. Walter D. Greene, Mrs. George H. Camehl, Dr. Burt J. Maycock, Mr. Allen E. Day, Rev. Israel Aaron, Dr. DeWitt G. Wilcox, Dr. Frederick H. Millener, Mr. Daniel S. Upton, Hon. Peter A. Porter, Frederic Almy, George W. Gillette, Chauncey J. Hamlin, Dr. Francis E. Fronczak, Rev. Thos. French, Jr., Mr. James Findlay, Rev. T. Aird Moffat and Prof. F. Hyatt Smith. These addresses, in addition to numerous historical talks by the secretary, have presented to our audiences a great variety of subjects, sometimes literary or historical, sometimes descriptive of travel tours and foreign countries, often on some great world interest of the hour, or some phase of civic or individual uprightness. By this free co-operation of varied home talent, we have, almost unconsciously, developed here a popular lyceum, of broad platform but high standards.

To those who have helped us in musical entertainments, no less acknowledgment is due. The list of these friends include Mrs. Laura Dietrich Minehan, Mrs. Frank Davidson, Miss Ruby Nason, the Misses McCall, Cohen and Fanny Stanton, Messrs. Edward and Arthur Haendiges, Hugo Hoffman and David D. Beveridge.

During the season of 1904-05 six evening entertainments were held, exclusively for members. The list of speakers and musicians is appended to this report. A similar course is to be carried out the present season. If members indicate, by attending these lectures, that they care for them, the number can be increased. When the season is favorable, it is proposed to hold one or more receptions or social gatherings for members.

During the fall, late spring and early summer, many classes of school children visit the building with their teachers. Suitable talks have been given, and museum objects shown and explained. Some addresses have been given to teachers, and a few excursions made, at the request of the schools, to near-by points of historic interest. So far as circumstances permit, the society stands ready to meet, in any way possible, the needs and wishes of public or private schools or of study clubs.

In association with Reno Post, G. A. R., of New York, the Historical Society, on last Memorial Day, placed a headstone at the grave of Gen. Ely S. Parker, on the society's lot in Forest Lawn; in connection with the Grand Army Posts of Buffalo, held suitable exercises at its unveiling. The society has also co-operated throughout the year with the Niagara Frontier Landmarks Association in the prosecution of its work of marking historic sites.

The society has been represented by its secretary at various gatherings and conventions. At the annual meeting of the New York State Library Association, at Lake Placid, in September, and at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association at Baltimore and Washington, in December, he shared in the program. By invitation, he has made addresses during the year before the Broome Co. Historical Society, at its first annual meeting, in Binghamton; the Erie Co. (Pa.) Historical Society, at Erie, Pa., and the historical association at Waterford, Pa., besides addressing numerous clubs and organizations in Buffalo.

The question is here suggested, whether or not the efficiency of the score or more of the historical societies in New York State may not be increased by some form of federation and associated work, especially in the discovery, cataloguing and publication of historical material. Such a federation has recently been formed in Pennsylvania, and if results there are seen to justify the effort, some further report or recommendations in the matter will be laid before this society at a future meeting.

In September last, the society sent to President Roosevelt the following communication, setting forth existing industrial conditions on the Niagara frontier, and suggesting the appointment of an international commission to which should be referred the matter of effectually safeguarding the scenery of the region:

BUFFALO, Sept. 7, 1905.

To His Excellency THEODORE ROOSEVELT, President of the United States:

DEAR SIR: The Buffalo Historical Society, holding with all thoughtful people a regard for the natural beauties and wonders of

the Niagara river at the falls and in the gorge below, notes with keen regret that these beauties are yearly being encroached upon and obliterated.

The divergence of water from the falls; the cutting of the banks, the slashing of the forest growth, and other extensive work carried on in the neighborhood by steam and electric railway companies, by power companies and other manufacturing and transportation interests, are rapidly spoiling the region as a scenic attraction, and are obliterating points and landmarks of great historic interest.

We hold that a limit should be set, and that soon, to this work. The whole neighborhood of the falls, outside the narrow bounds of the New York State Reservation, is yearly the scene of more and more commercial enterprise. When such enterprise invades the precincts of the cataract, and threatens to spoil forever the scenic beauty of the gorge, we feel it is time to call a halt. A world's marvel should be protected, for the people, from the inroads of private and corporate enterprise.

To this end, the Buffalo Historical Society, through its Board of Directors, at a meeting held Sept. 7, 1905, respectfully calls the attention of the President to the existing state of affairs, and suggests that an international commission be created to take steps toward the effectual preservation of the Niagara Falls and gorge for the free enjoyment of all people.

With great respect, we remain,

THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

ANDREW LANGDON, *President*.

The society has also gone on record as favoring the free importation of works of art.

The principal meetings, gatherings and exercises, season of 1905-06, were as follows:

MEMBERS' MEETINGS.

1905.

- Dec. 15. Lecture: Millard Fillmore and the Opening of Japan, by Wm. Elliot Griffis, D. D., LL. D.

1906.

- Jan. 9. Annual Meeting: Reports of officers, election of members of the Board of Managers, followed by illustrated lecture on "Old New York," by Mr. Loran L. Lewis, Jr.
 Feb. 16. Stereopticon talk: "Old-time Buffalo," by Frank H. Severance.
 Mar. 8. Illustrated lecture: "An Evening with Dickens," by Mr. E. S. Williamson, Toronto, Ont.
 Apr. 10. Address: "The World's Present Crisis," by Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, Boston, Mass.
 May 4. Address: "School Reading vs. School Teaching of History," by Mr. J. N. Larned; remarks by Hon. Henry P. Emerson; music by Miss Mary M. Howard.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON LECTURES.

1905.

- Oct. 8. "The Trial of Red Jacket"—the story of a picture, by the Secretary.
- 15. "The Buffalo Movement for a Greater University," by the Secretary.
- 22. "Patriotism as Illustrated by the Historical Society Collection of Swords," by Hon. Peter A. Porter.
- 29. "Impressions of some Foreign Universities, by Hon. Henry W. Hill.
- Nov. 5. "The Work of the Municipal League in Buffalo," by Messrs. Frederic Almy, George W. Gillette and Chauncey J. Hamlin.
- 12. "Poland and her People," by Dr. Francis E. Fronczak.
- 19. "The New Church and What it Stands For," by Rev. Thomas French, Jr.
- 26. "Some American Thanksgivings," by the Secretary.
- Dec. 3. "The Battle of Mobile Bay," illustrated with maps, by James Findlay.
- 10. Piano and violin recital, by Miss Fannie Stanton and Mr. Hugo Hoffman.
- 17. "Burns, Scott and Carlyle," by Rev. T. Aird Moffat; singing of Scotch songs by Mr. David D. Beveridge.
- 24. A Christmas reading from the prose sketches of Eugene Field, by Mr. Allen E. Day.
- 31. "Ralph Waldo Emerson, a Force in American Life and Thought," by Prof. F. Hyatt Smith.

1906.

- Jan. 7. "The Story of the Star Spangled Banner," by the Secretary.
- 14. "Benjamin Franklin," by Rev. D. H. Muller, D. D.
- 21. "The Jews in America," by Miss Elizabeth Hirshfield.
- 28. "Indian Orators and Oratory," by Mr. Cary W. Hartman.
- Feb. 4. "Food Adulteration," by Dr. F. W. Millener.
- 11. "Lincoln, and Reminiscences of the Civil War," by George M. Booth.
- 18. "Washington and Lincoln, the two greatest Americans," by Rev. D. H. Muller, D. D.
- 25. "The Early Years of Washington," by Mr. Arthur H. Rice.
- Mar. 4. "The History of Park Lake," by Dr. Julius Pohlman.
- 11. "The Old-time Group of Down-Town Churches," by the Secretary.
- 18. "A Chapter of Buffalo Harbor History," by Mr. Wm. S. Rann.
- 25. "My Summer in Iceland," by Mrs. Mary W. Stickney.
- Apr. 1. "Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony," by Mrs. Wm. C. Gannett of Rochester.
- 8. "The Johnson's Island Plot," by Mr. Frederick J. Shepard.
- 15. "Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War," by Mr. Thos. A. Laird.

- 22. "The Early Days of San Francisco," by the Secretary.
- 29. "The Campaign of 1864 on the James," by Mr. James Findlay.
- May 6. "Experiences in the San Francisco Earthquake," by Mr. Horace Reed.
- 13. "The Story of Vesuvius," by the Secretary.
- 20. "The Battle-flags of the Civil War, carried by Buffalo Regiments and preserved by the Buffalo Historical Society," by Mr. Anselm J. Smith.

OTHER MEETINGS.

Other lectures and gatherings at the Historical Building, during the season of 1905-06, include the following:

- 1905.
- Oct. 7. Annual meeting Cattaraugus County Association; address of welcome by the Secretary of the Historical Society; address by Hon. William Laidlaw.
- 24. Meeting of the Medical Association of Central New York, two sessions.
- 1906.
- June 22. Commencement exercises of North Park School (No. 21).

In addition to the above, the Secretary, during the season, gave lectures, or more or less informal talks, usually on subjects related to the history of the Niagara region, before some twenty study clubs, societies, church guilds and schools. His work in this field is to be regarded merely as one phase of the effort of the Historical Society to extend its usefulness in its home community.

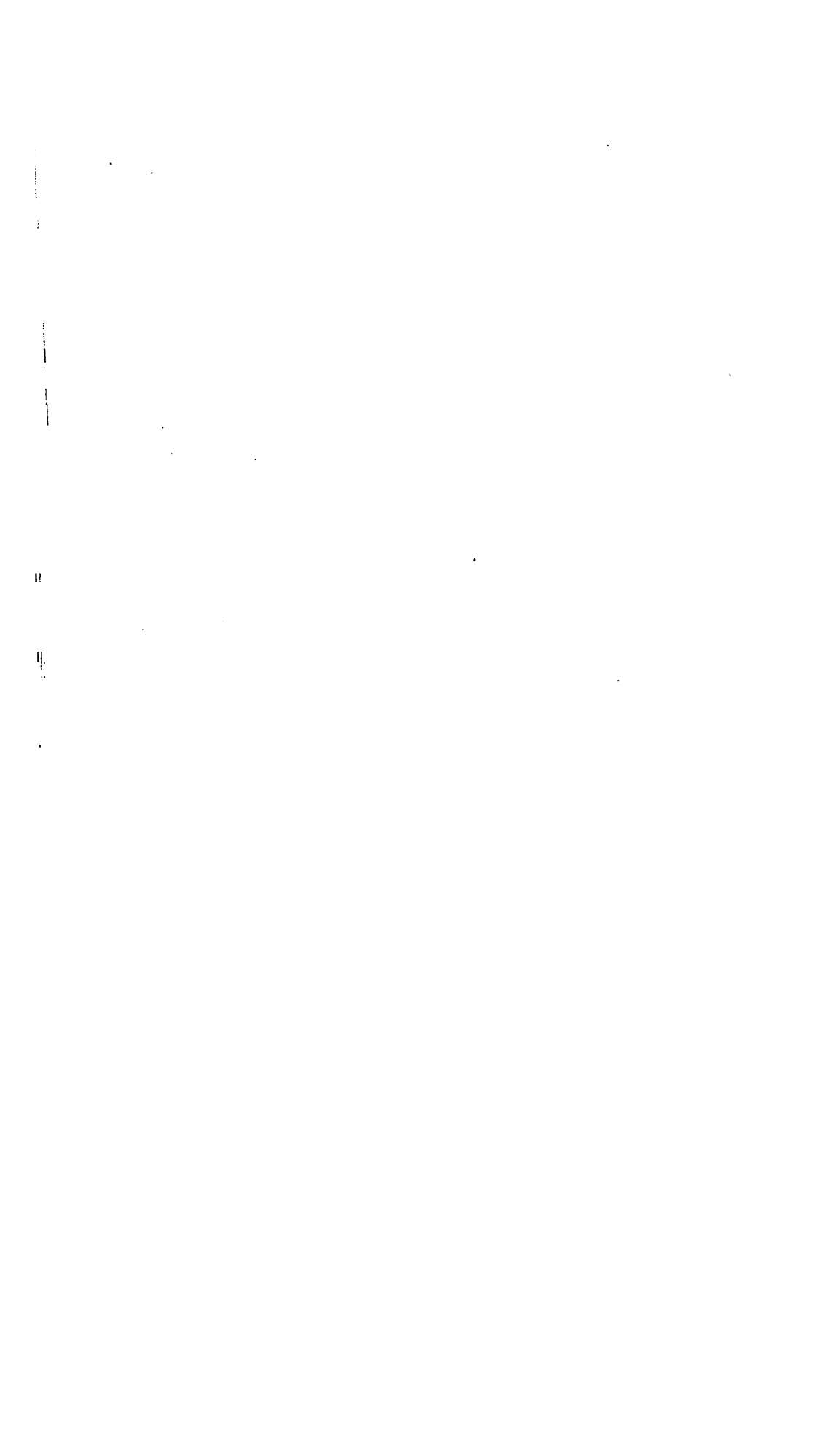
"REMINISCENCES OF MILLARD FILLMORE."

On page 79 of this volume, at the conclusion of Dr. Griffis' paper on "Millard Fillmore and the Opening of Japan," a note promises some reminiscences of Mr. Fillmore, in an appendix. When the material was brought together, there was found to be so much of it that it could not be included in the present volume without making it unduly large. It is, therefore, the purpose of the Buffalo Historical Society to issue at an early date a volume which shall be largely, perhaps wholly, devoted to Mr. Fillmore. It will contain not only the reminiscences above referred to, but as complete a collection as possible of Mr. Fillmore's writings, exclusive of his State papers which are now in print and easily accessible. But there exist many speeches and addresses delivered by Mr. Fillmore on public occasions; and many letters, both personal and public, some addressed

to old friends and lifelong associates in Buffalo and Western New York, others to public men of Mr. Fillmore's day—Thurlow Weed, Henry Clay, Gen. William F. Barry and others of note; still others to the Prince of Wales, to the Mikado of Japan and various persons in exalted position, whom Mr. Fillmore was called on to address either as President or in other representative capacity. These miscellaneous writings reflect many phases of National life, and of our local history. It is deemed appropriate that they should be collected and suitably published by the Buffalo Historical Society, of which he was a founder and the first president.

THE FRONTISPIECE.

The frontispiece of this volume shows one of the notable gifts received by the Society during the year. It is an antique bust of the Roman emperor Nero, the head of bronze, the draped shoulders and the pedestal of various colored marbles. While its exact age is not known, it is believed to be of the fifteenth century, and is a most interesting example of Italian art of that period. Like many another valuable possession of the Buffalo Historical Society, it is the gift of the president, Mr. Andrew Langdon, who procured it in Florence during a recent visit.



APPENDIX B

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(List revised to October, 1906)

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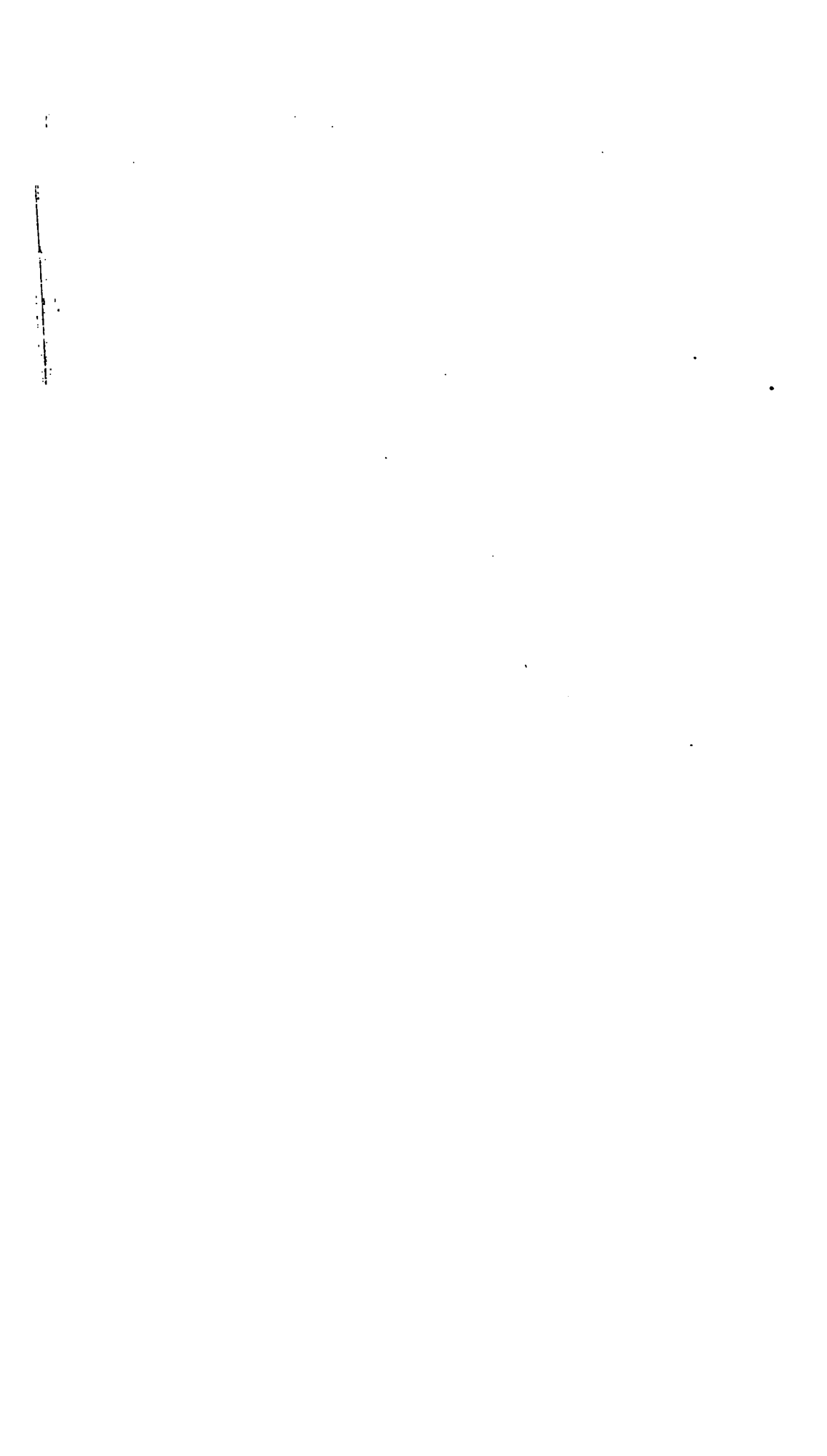
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